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ASTOR, LENOX AND
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SIMON BOLÍVAR.

A

VIEW

OF

SOUTH-AMERICA

AND

MEXICO,

COMPRISING

THEIR HISTORY, THE POLITICAL CONDITION, GEOGRAPHY, AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, &c. OF THE REPUBLICS OF MEXICO, GUATAMALA, COLOMBIA, PERU, THE UNITED PROVINCES OF SOUTH-AMERICA AND CHILE, WITH A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION, IN EACH OF THESE

INDEPENDENT STATES.

BY A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

VOL. I.

NEW-YORK:

PUBLISHED BY H. HUNTINGTON, JR.

1825.

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District of Connecticut, ss.

L.S. BE IT REMEMBERED: That on the twenty-second day of October, in the fiftieth year of the independence of the United States of America, H. HUNTINGTON, JR. of the said district, has deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit. "A View of South-America and Mexico, comprising their history, the political condition, geography, agriculture, commerce, &c. of the republics of Mexico, Guatamala, Colombia, Peru, the United Provinces of South-America and Chile, with a complete history of the Revolution, in each of these Independent States.—By a Citizen of the United States.—Two volumes in one. Vol. I."

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the "copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the authors and proprietors "of such copies, during the times therein mentioned.

CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,
Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

A true copy of Record, examined and sealed by me,
CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,
Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

PREFACE.

To give some account of a revolution, which has terminated so gloriously, and is characterized by so many striking and interesting events, is the object of this work. The author, or compiler, is aware that the time has not yet arrived, for composing a complete history of the revolution; nor is the United States the place for such a work to be written. It is intended only as a popular sketch or outline of the revolution, presenting in one view all that is most valuable and interesting in the numerous publications on this subject, with much information derived from other sources, and believed to be authentic. The lively interest which the citizens of the United States justly feel in a revolution, having so important an influence on the cause of freedom, and on the destinies of the new world; which has brought into existence six independent nations, on the same continent, some of them their neighbours, seemed to require a work, presenting, in a cheap and popular form, a general and connected view of these important events. We are not aware that any similar work has appeared, although there have been numerous valuable publications, affording much information, concerning certain portions and periods of the revolution. To render a work of this description more complete and valuable, it was thought best to connect with it, a compendium of the history and condition of Spanish America, previous to the revolution, and a geographical and political view of the present condition of the new republics. A knowledge of the geography of the country, and in some measure its early history, is requisite to a correct understanding of the events of the revolution.

In the compilation, we have consulted and made free use, as we had occasion, of most of the approved works

in the English language relating to the subject. Among the number, are Robertson's America, the Edinburgh Encyclopedia, Morse's Geography, Outline of the Revolution, Fune's Sketch of the revolution in the United Provinces of South America, Poinsett's Notes on Mexico, Pazos' Letters on South America, Hall's Travels in Colombia, Hall's Journal and History of events in Peru and Chile, Bland's and Poinsett's Statistical Reports, Niles' Weekly Register, and the North American Review. The latter part of the history in the several states, we have derived from public documents transmitted to congress, and from the public journals and periodical publications of the day.

These materials have been examined with the most laborious research; and whoever considers the intrinsic difficulties of the undertaking—the obscurity in which every thing, relating to Spanish America, has been involved—the passions excited by recent events, and the misrepresentations they have occasioned—the confusion of certain periods of the revolution, and the fact, that most of our information is necessarily derived through a different language, will not expect perfect accuracy, or criticise with severity, any errors or defects, with which the work may justly be chargeable. It will also be remembered, that it is intended merely to present a popular view of the subject, making no pretensions to literary merit. Such as it is, however, it is offered to the public, with the full persuasion, that no American will rise from its perusal, without feeling a keener detestation of tyranny, and a more lively sense of the inestimable blessings of freedom and peace; the happy fruits of our republican institutions, in which he participates, in common with his fellow-citizens.

November, 1825.

SKETCH

OF THE HISTORY OF

SPANISH AMERICA,

TO THE REVOLUTION.

THE discovery of America, forms a new and most conspicuous era in the annals of the world; and probably no other event has had greater influence on the destinies of the human race. Its immediate effects were, to excite a spirit of discovery, of enterprise, and commercial cupidity, which not only gave a new direction, but a new and vigorous impulse to speculative and commercial operations, and by extending the bounds and magnifying the objects of navigation, a degree of interest and importance was conferred on that pursuit, which it had never before possessed. To these effects, succeed the planting of colonies, which gradually gave a new aspect to the commerce of Europe, engrafted novel principles into the laws of nations, and in no small degree influenced the politics of almost every state in Europe; as for a long period, most of the contentions and wars among the principal powers of the old world, arose from conflicting claims and interests in the new. New relations were created, between the parent state and its colonies, and between the latter and other powers, the last of which, was a source of constant jealousy, and often disturbed the peace of nations.

That the discovery and colonizing of a new world, several times as large as the continent of Europe, would produce an important change in the commercial and political relations of the maritime powers of the continent, must have been foreseen at the time; but that it should have had an important *moral* influence on the character of mankind,

and have been the means of securing their rights, establishing their liberties, and exalting their destinies, no one could have anticipated. On the contrary, it must have been supposed, that the establishment of distant colonies, dependant on the parent state, to be nursed by its care, protected by its arms, and entirely subject to its power, would have tended to colonial oppression; which by its example and by strengthening the power of the sovereign, would re-act upon the parent state, and thus tend to the oppression of both. And however it may have been with others, this was undoubtedly true of the Spanish Colonies, down to the period of the late glorious revolution. But their degradation and oppression alienated them from the parent country, and prepared their minds to embrace the first opportunity to throw off the yoke of a distant and foreign power, which instead of conducting towards them, like an affectionate mother, treated them with the jealousy, selfishness, and cruelty of an unfeeling step-dame. The English colonists in North America, consisting of the persecuted at home, brought with them, to a considerable extent, the elements of freedom; and many of the colonies obtained charters securing the essential rights of self-government, and the enjoyment of civil liberty; so that at a very early period, many scattering rays of light were shed abroad in this western hemisphere, which served as the dawn of that glorious day of liberty which we now behold in its meridian splendour. Although the system of colonial government in the two continents, was different, yet the views and policy of the parent countries, were essentially the same, and tended to the same result. This policy was to keep the colonies, not only dependant, but tributary states; to monopolize their commerce, cripple their manufactures, and in all respects render them contributary to the wealth and aggrandizement of the colonizing state. In both continents this policy was more rigorously pursued, as the colonies became more populous and wealthy, and in proportion as a jealousy and apprehension of their independence increased. This illiberal policy tended to a separation, and has resulted in the independance and freedom of the greater part of both continents.

Notwithstanding the vast extent of the two American Continents, their various and happy climate, their magnificent rivers and mountains, their unrivalled fertility of soil, and their capacity of sustaining a population almost sur-

passing conception, the beneficial influence which they have had on the cause of civil liberty and the moral character of man, is infinitely more important, than all the other advantages which their discovery will confer on the world. If they had contributed to the enslavement and degradation of man, it might even be a problem whether this discovery ought to be regarded as a blessing or an evil; as the eastern hemisphere, is sufficiently extensive for the wretched abodes of slavery. It is the glory and pride of America, and equally so now in both continents, that it is the land of freedom, and the asylum of the oppressed of all nations: that here the mind, as well as the body of man, is free, and ranges at large, unrestrained except by those barriers which his Maker has established.

Towards the latter part of the fifteenth century, a spirit of discovery appeared in several Europeon nations, but was most conspicuous in Portugal. The fame of several successful voyages of discovery, made by the Portuguese, drew many enterprising foreigners into their service, and among the number, Christopher Colon, or Columbus, a subject of the republic of Genoa. At this time, he possessed great experience as a navigator, which he improved by several voyages to Madeira, the Canaries, the Azores, and all other places which the Portuguese had discovered on the Continent of Africa, so that he soon became one of the most skillful navigators in Europe. Possessing a mind bold and inquiring, and stimulated by the spirit of enterprise and discovery which prevailed, Columbus was ambitious to exceed the bounds which had limited the boldest and most successful navigators: and from his geographical knowledge, and various facts which he had observed during his voyages, he had for some time conceived the idea of finding a passage by sea to the East Indies, by sailing in a westerly direction. The spices and other rich commodities from India, which the Venetians had introduced into Europe, by the trade which they had monopolized with that country, had excited the attention and the envy of their neighbors, and rendered it an object of first importance to discover a more direct route over sea to that country, then regarded as a terrestrial paradise.

Having submitted his plan of a voyage of discovery to his native and adopted countries, without success, he next applied to Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella, then governed the united kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. After having

spent more than eight years in fruitless endeavours, during which, he had to contend not only with ignorance and prejudice, but with the pride of false knowledge; and after experiencing the mortification of a second rejection of his proposals, just as he was on the eve of leaving the country, the influence of two of his friends with the Queen, procured him that encouragement which his own knowledge of the subject and his long and unwearied exertions had not been able to effect.

Spain is entitled to but little honour, for being the nation under whose auspices the new world was discovered, and which, for two centuries and a half, contributed, in an eminent degree, to her aggrandizement and power.

On the third day of August, 1492, Columbus, with a fleet (for it was so called) of three small leaky and crazy vessels, scarcely fit for a voyage to the Canary Islands, with ninety men on board, sailed from Cadiz on a voyage of discovery. On the 12th of October, a little past midnight, the joyful cry of *land! land!* was heard; the truth of which was confirmed by the dawn of light, to the unspeakable joy of all. At sun rise the boats were manned and armed, and, with colours flying and martial music, they approached the shore, which was lined with a multitude of strange people, entirely naked, who, by their attitudes and gestures, expressed the surprise and astonishment with which they viewed the strange and unknown objects before them. Columbus, in a rich dress, with a drawn naked sword, was the first who stepped on to the soil of the new world, and, being followed by his men, they all kneeled down and kissed the ground which had so long been the object of their almost hopeless desire. This was followed by the erection of a crucifix, before which they prostrated themselves, and returned thanks to God for conducting their voyage to so happy an issue. The natives, although extremely timid, gathered around them, while these ceremonies were performing, and gazed with silent admiration, without being able to comprehend what they witnessed, and much less to foresee the misery and desolation which this visit of a new race of men was to bring on themselves and their posterity. They were filled with amazement and awe, and regarded their strange guests as superior beings, and very naturally supposed that they were the children of the sun, who had deigned to visit the earth. The fallacy of this opinion they soon realized, and had

occasion to regard them rather as fiends of darkness, than as angels of light, sent on errands of love.

The land discovered was one of the Bahama Islands, and was named, by Columbus, *San Salvador*. After exploring the island, and discovering several others, Columbus set sail for Spain, leaving thirty-eight of his people on an island, which he named *Hispaniola*, for the protection of which a small fort had been erected, in a great measure by the industry of the natives, who, with much simplicity, laboured, in conjunction with their invaders, to erect the first monument of their slavery. Before the Discoverer set sail on his second voyage, it was deemed necessary to obtain a grant from the Pope, who, as the head of the church and vicegerent of the Almighty, claimed dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth. Accordingly, his holiness, granted, with great form and solemnity, to Ferdinand and Isabella, and their successors forever, all the countries inhabited by infidels, which they had discovered, or might discover, but did not undertake to bound or describe them, as he was ignorant, not only of their situation, but even of their existence. To prevent, however, this grant from interfering with one previously made to the Crown of Portugal, he directed that a line should be supposed to be drawn one hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores, from pole to pole, and all the unknown countries, east of this line, were given to the Portuguese, and those west to the Spaniards. The consideration of this grant was the propagation of Christianity among the heathen nations in the western regions, which Ferdinand engaged to do. Accordingly Father Boyle and several other friars, accompanied Columbus in his second voyage, to instruct the natives in Christianity; and those whom Columbus had carried to Spain, after some pains to instruct them, were baptized, Ferdinand himself, the Prince his son, and the chief persons of his court, standing as their godfathers. These were the first fruits of missionary exertions among the natives of America. The second expedition sailed from the Bay of Cadiz on the 25th of September, 1493, and by steering a more southerly direction than had been pursued the previous voyage, the first land discovered was the Caribbee, or Leeward Islands. Columbus discovered Dominica, Porto Rico, Guadaloupe, Antigua, and several other islands in the Gulf of Mexico. When he arrived off Navidad, which was the name he had given to the port

where he had left a garrison the former voyage, he was surprised that none of the men appeared, as he expected to behold them on the beach, welcoming their countrymen with transports of joy. It was soon discovered, that the fort was entirely demolished, and the tattered garments and broken arms around it, removed all doubts as to the melancholy fate of the first colony, if it deserves that name, which had been planted in the new world. The rashness and licentiousness of the men, brought upon them their own destruction. Alike regardless of their own security and the rights of the natives, they seized upon every thing they could find ; the provisions, gold, and women of the natives, were their prey. Aroused, by such insufferable wrongs, and having thrown off the fear of their invaders, by familiar intercourse with them, the natives were determined to rid themselves of such licentious intruders.

Columbus, instead of re-occupying the same spot, chose a situation more healthy and commodious, on a capacious bay, where he traced out the plan of a large town, and, by the united labour of all hands, the houses and ramparts were in a short time so far advanced as to afford them shelter and protection. This, which must be considered as the first settlement planted in the new world, the founder named Isabella, in honour of his patroness. In the commencement of this, the first settlement in America, Columbus had not only to contend with the usual difficulties attending the planting of a colony at a great distance, and in an uncultivated country, but with the mutinous disposition of many of his followers, and the laziness of all, which was greatly increased by the enervating influence of a hot climate, to which they had not been accustomed. Their provisions were rapidly consuming, and what remained were corrupted by the heat and moisture of a tropical climate ; the natives cultivated but little ground and had scarcely sufficient provisions for themselves, consequently could not supply the wants of the Spaniards. The malignant diseases, which prevail in the torrid zone, especially where the country is uncultivated, raged among them with great violence. Murmurs and complaints arose against Columbus and those who accompanied him in his former voyage ; they were accused of having allured their countrymen to attempt a settlement in a barbarous and inhospitable land, which they had represented as a terrestrial paradise, and where they must inevitably perish by famine

or by unknown diseases. By his unwearied exertions and prudent measures, Columbus succeeded so far in restoring concord, as to be able to leave the island in pursuit of further discoveries. During a tedious voyage of five months, abounding in every hardship and peril, he made no discovery of importance, except the Island of Jamaica. He left the command of the infant colony to his brother, Don Diego, with the assistance of a council of officers; but no sooner had he left the harbour, than the soldiers dispersed over the island in small parties, lived upon the natives, wasted their provisions, seized their women, and treated that inoffensive race with all the insolence of military oppression. The natives silently submitted to these oppressions for a considerable time, hoping that their invaders would leave their country; but discovering that they had *not* come to visit the island, but to settle in it, they perceived that their oppressions would never be terminated but by expelling their cruel invaders. Aroused by a common danger, and driven almost to desperation, all the caziques, or chiefs of the island, except Guacanahari, who, from the first, had been the friend of the Spaniards, united and brought into the field, according to the Spanish accounts, a force of one hundred thousand men. Their arms were clubs, sticks of wood, hardened in the fire, and arrows pointed with bones or flints.

Fortunately for the Spaniards, Columbus returned just at this crisis, and his presence and the impending danger, restored authority and produced union. But two thirds of the original number had died, and many of those who survived were incapable of service, so that two hundred foot and twenty horse, were all that could take the field. To this force was united one of a novel kind, consisting of twenty large bull-dogs, but perhaps not the least efficient against timid and naked Indians. With great simplicity the natives collected in a large plain, instead of attempting to draw the Spaniards into the fastnesses and defiles of the mountains. Alarmed by the noise and havoc of fire arms, the impetuosity of the cavalry, and the furious assaults of ferocious dogs, the natives were instantly filled with consternation, and threw down their arms and fled. Many were slain, and a much greater number taken prisoners and reduced to a state of servitude. From this moment, they abandoned themselves to despair, and relinquished all thoughts of resisting men whom they regarded as invinci-

ble. In a few days the Spaniards marched over the whole island, and subjected it to their government, without further opposition. The natives were treated as a conquered people, and a tribute imposed upon all persons above the age of fourteen years. In the districts where gold was found, each person was obliged to pay quarterly as much gold dust as filled a hawk's bill, and in other parts of the island, twenty-five pounds of cotton were demanded. These unjust and rigorous measures Columbus was constrained to adopt, contrary to his own inclinations and his original plan of government, to satisfy the rapacity of the Spanish court, and counteract the machinations of his enemies, who were constantly intriguing to destroy him. This was the first regular tax imposed on the natives, and was the origin of that system of exaction of tribute, or a capitation tax, from the natives, which Spain, ever after, maintained, and which has been so intolerably oppressive to them.

The settlement in Hispaniola was the parent, and served as the model of all the other Spanish settlements in America. Columbus having returned to Spain, a more regular plan for the colony was adopted, and a large body of settlers were sent out, consisting of husbandmen, artizans, with a suitable number of women, and workmen skilled in the various arts of digging and working mines, and refining the precious metals; and all these emigrants were, for a certain number of years, to be supported and paid by the Spanish government. With these prudent and judicious regulations, Columbus proposed one of a most pernicious nature, which was the transportation, to the colony, of certain convicts, which had usually been sent to the gallies. This fatal expedient, inconsiderately proposed, was, with as little consideration, adopted, and the prisons of Spain were drained to recruit the colony. This absurd and cruel measure of emptying their jails into their colonies, as weak as it was wicked, was not only continued by Spain, but imitated by Great Britain, and in both continents held no unimportant station in the catalogue of colonial grievancies against the mother country.

In the third voyage made by Columbus, he sailed further to the south, and the first land he discovered was the Island of Trinidad, on the coast of Guiana, near the mouth of the Orinoco. Columbus, having become involved among those adverse currents and tempestuous waves, produced

by the body of water which this river rolls into the ocean, with difficulty escaped through a narrow strait. He however very justly concluded, that a river of such vast magnitude could not flow from an island, as it must require a country of great extent to supply so large a body of water, and consequently felt persuaded that he had at length discovered the continent which had so long been the supreme object of his hopes and wishes. He directed his course to the west, along the coast of the provinces of Paria and Cumana ; landed at several places, and had some intercourse with the inhabitants, who he found resembled those of Hispaniola, although possessed of a better understanding and more courage.

When Columbus arrived at Hispaniola, he found the colony in an unprosperous and distracted state. After his *departure*, his brother, in pursuance of his advice, removed the colony from Isabella, to a more eligible station, on the opposite side of the island, and laid the foundation of the present town of St. Domingo, which, for a long period, remained the most considerable European settlement in America, and was the seat of the supreme courts in the Spanish dominions. A war with the natives broke out, and whilst Diego Columbus was employed against them in the field, his attention was arrested by a most alarming mutiny among the Spaniards, which threatened the ruin of the colony. Columbus, by a seasonable offer of pardon, and other judicious measures, succeeded in allaying the spirit of sedition, and induced the malecontents to return to their duty. To effect this object, he was, however, obliged so far to yield to the demands of the mutineers, as to agree to grant to them allotments of land in different parts of the island, with the right to the servitude of the natives settled on the same, so far as that they were to cultivate a certain portion of ground for the use of their new masters, which was to be in lieu of the tribute that had been imposed on them. This regulation was the germ of the system of *Repartimientos*, or distribution and servitude of the natives, which has been established throughout the Spanish dominions in America. This plan of domestic servitude was founded on the same principles with the feudal system, so far as that applied to villens or serfs, who performed the most degrading services, were attached to the soil and transferable with it ; and it reduced a large proportion of the natives in all the Spanish dominions, to

the most degrading servitude, and subjected them to the most grievous and intolerable oppressions. It is one of the sources from whence have flown the tears of an oppressed people, in such profusion, as if collected into one channel, would almost swell to a flood the vast rivers which flow through their country.

In the year fifteen hundred, Alonzo de Ojeda, a gallant officer, who had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage, sailed on an expedition to America, with four ships, which had been equipped by the merchants of Seville, and was accompanied by Americus Vespucius, a gentleman of Florence. Having obtained a chart of Columbus' last voyage, Ojeda servilely followed in the same tract, and arrived on the coast of Paria. He sailed to the west as far as the Cape de Vela, and traversed the coast a considerable extent beyond where Columbus had touched, and returned by way of Hispaniola to Spain.

Americus, on his return, wrote an account of the voyage and discoveries, and framed his narrative with so much art and address as to secure to himself the credit and glory of having first discovered the continent in the New World. The novelty of the work, being the first publication concerning the discoveries which had been made in the Western World, and the amusing history which he gave of the voyage and adventures, gave it a rapid and extensive circulation, and spread the fame of the author over Europe. This bold attempt to assume the merit and glory, which belonged to another, by an unaccountable caprice, has been suffered to succeed, and by the universal consent of nations, the name of *America*, has been bestowed on the New World.

During the fourth voyage made by Columbus, he discovered the Island of Guiana, and the coast of the Continent from Cape Gracias a Dios, to a harbour, which from its beauty and security, he called Porto Bello. He went on shore at various places, and penetrated into the country, but searched in vain for the strait that he had long been attempting to discover, which he supposed led into an unknown ocean. He was so charmed with the fertility of the country, and the specimens of gold found on the natives, that he determined to plant a small colony under the command of his brother, in the province of Veragua. But the insolence and rapacity of his men, provoked the natives, who were a more warlike race than those of the Islands, to take up

arms against the Spaniards, part of whom were killed, and the rest obliged to seek safety by abandoning the station.

This was the first repulse the Spaniards had received from the natives, and deprived Columbus of the honour of planting the first colony on the continent of America.

From the first discovery of the continent by Columbus, ten years elapsed before the Spaniards had made a settlement in any part of it; but in the year fifteen hundred and nine, two expeditions were fitted out for this purpose; one under the command of Ojeda, and the other, under Nicuessa; the former consisted of three vessels and three hundred men, and the latter of six vessels, and seven hundred men, both of which were fitted out by individual enterprise. A grant or patent, was given to Ojeda, of the country from Cape de Vela to the gulf of Darien; and to Nicuessa, from thence to Cape Gracias a Dios, with the power of planting colonies and establishing a government.

These adventurers were instructed to acquaint the natives with the primary articles of Christianity, and particularly to inform them of the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope, and of the grant which he had made of their country to the king of Spain; and then to require them to embrace Christianity and to acknowledge the authority of the Spanish Sovereign; and in case the natives did not comply with these requirements, they were told it would be lawful to attack them with fire and sword, exterminate them, and reduce their wives and children to servitude, or compel them to acknowledge the authority of the Church and of the Spanish monarch. This very wise and reasonable mode of taking possession of the country, was prescribed by the most eminent lawyers and divines in Spain. Both of these attempts failed, and nearly all engaged in them, with two considerable reinforcements from St. Domingo, perished within one year. The aborigines were fierce and warlike, and manifested the most implacable enmity towards them; they used arrows dipped in poison so noxious, that almost every wound was followed by death Seventy of the Spaniards were killed in one engagement. What few survived, settled at Santa Maria, on the Gulf of Darien, under Vasco Balboa, whose extraordinary courage in the most trying emergencies, secured to him the confidence of his countrymen, and the rank of their leader. This was not the only bold adventurer who was afterwards distinguished for daring exploits and splendid undertakings, that

was engaged in this unfortunate enterprise. The celebrated Francisco Pizarro, was one of Ojeda's party, and in this school of adversity and hardships, qualified himself for the wonderful achievements which he subsequently performed. Hernandes Cortes, was at first engaged in this enterprise, but being taken sick at St. Domingo before the expedition sailed, he was left behind and his life spared for more daring and successful enterprises.

Balboa made frequent incursions into the country, and subdued several of the caziques; and being informed by the natives, that at the distance of many suns to the south, there was another ocean, where gold was so common, that the inhabitants made their common utensils of that metal, he concluded that this ocean was the one for which Columbus had so long searched in vain, and that it afforded a direct communication to the East Indies. With one hundred and ninety men, a part of which he had obtained from Hispaniola, he undertook the bold expedition, of crossing over the Isthmus which connects the continents of North and South America, without any knowledge of the extent or nature of the country, or any guides but natives, on whose fidelity he could not safely rely..

Balboa set out on this expedition on the first of September, 1513; and after twenty-five days of incredible hardships, in passing over a country abounding in mountains, rivers and swamps, and filled with hostile tribes, from the summit of a mountain, he beheld the Pacific Ocean, stretching in endless extent before him. He hurried towards it, and rushed into the briny waves to his middle, with his sword and buckler, and in a transport of joy, took possession of that vast Ocean in the name of his Sovereign, and swore to defend it with his arms against all his enemies. He named this part of the Southern Ocean, the Gulf of St. Michael, which it has ever since retained. Balboa, learnt from the natives that pearl oysters abounded in the sea he had discovered, and that there was a very opulent country, where the inhabitants were more civilized, which lay to the south; but not thinking it prudent to go in search of it with the small and exhausted party he had, he returned to Santa Maria; and embraced the first opportunity to communicate his discoveries to the Spanish government, and requested a reinforcement of one thousand men, to conquer the country he had discovered. But, disregarding Balboa's important services, the king sent out

an expedition, and appointed Pedrarias Davila, governor of Darien. By his incapacity and misconduct, he nearly destroyed the colony; and from his envy and jealousy of Balboa, he caused him to be arrested, just as he was on the eve of setting out on an expedition to the South Sea, and after a mock trial, to be executed. This cruel murder of the most able and successful adventurer and commander the Spaniards had in America, not only passed without censure, but the tyrant was continued at the head of the colony. Soon after this he obtained permission, and removed the colony to Panama, on the opposite side of the Isthmus. The object of this was to obtain a more healthful situation. The new location of the colony greatly facilitated the subsequent discoveries and conquests in the Southern Ocean.

In the year 1515, Juan de Solis, who was deemed one of the most skilful navigators in Spain, commanded an expedition to America, and sailing along the coast of the Southern Continent, on the first day of January the following year, he discovered a river, which he named Rio Janeiro, from the day on which it was discovered. He continued along the coast, and discovered a spacious bay, which proved to be the mouth of the Rio de Plata, one of the great rivers of the Southern Continent.

He advanced up the bay, and having landed with the intention of penetrating into the country, De Solis and several of his men were slain by the natives, their bodies cut in pieces, roasted and eaten in sight of the ships. The loss of the commander occasioned the return of the expedition without making any further discoveries.

Diego Velasquez, in 1511, commanded an expedition from Hispaniola, against the Island of Cuba, and with a force of three hundred men, he conquered an Island of seven hundred miles in length, and filled with inhabitants; and from his prudent administration it became one of the most flourishing of the Spanish settlements. A colony was planted in Cumana, by Las Casas, an ecclesiastic, who deeply affected with the miserable servitude to which the natives were reduced, had long exerted himself for the amelioration of their unhappy condition. This colony was commenced for this laudable purpose; but the Indians having been treated with such injustice and cruelty, and being in the highest state of exasperation against the Spaniards, in a secret but ferocious manner, attacked the colo-

ny, cut off a part of them, and compelled the rest to fly in consternation to the Island of Cubagua. The expulsion of this colony, was in the year 1521. An expedition was fitted out from Cuba, under Francisco Cordova, and steering in a westerly direction, they discovered a peninsula projecting from the continent, which he named Yucatan, which it has ever since retained.

The natives were more civilized and warlike; they surprised and attacked the Spaniards with courage, and in consequence of their hostile disposition, no attempt was made to effect a settlement. Proceeding to the west, and continuing in sight of the coast, they in sixteen days arrived at Campeachy. Cordova having landed with his men to procure water, the natives rushed upon them in such numbers, and with such impetuosity, that forty-seven of the Spaniards were killed, and nearly every man wounded, so that it was with difficulty they regained their ships. Notwithstanding the disasterous result of this expedition, a new one was soon after fitted out from Cuba, under Juan de Grijalva, who proceeding farther west than Cordova, sailed along the coast of a fertile and delightful country, and with much surprise and admiration witnessed the villages which lay scattered along the shore; they discovered stone houses, which at a distance, appeared white and lofty; they even imagined they saw cities with towers and pinnacles; and one of the sailors observing that the country resembled Spain, Grijalva gave it the name of New Spain, which was received with universal applause. It is scarcely necessary to add that this extensive and interesting portion of America, has retained the name ever since, or at least to the extinction of the authority of Spain over it.

Continuing his course to the west, Grijalva touched at several places, and at one Island, which he called Ulua, and from thence proceeded along the coast as far as the river Panuco, and then returned to Cuba.

CHAPTER II.

Valasquez fits out an expedition to New Spain—Cortes appointed to command it—sails from St. Jago de Cuba—lands at St. Juan de Ulua—interview with the two Mexican officers—the astonishment of the natives—Cortes establishes a council of magistrates, and is chosen commander in chief—commences a settlement at Vera Cruz—disaffection among the men—Cortes destroys his ships, and commences a march into the interior—War with the Tlascalans, who are defeated with great slaughter—Peace concluded, and the Tlascalans acknowledge themselves tributary to the Spanish monarch—Cortes commences his march towards Mexico—at Chocula he discovers a plot for his destruction—great slaughter ensues, in which six thousand of the natives perish—arrives at the city—Montazuma marches out with great pomp to meet him—The Spaniards enter the city—Description of Mexico—The Spaniards alarmed for their safety—they seize Montazuma, and conduct him to the Spanish quarters—Zulpopoca, his son, and six of his principal officers tried and condemned to be burnt alive—Montazuma acknowledges himself tributary to the King of Castile—Cortes deeply anxious for his situation—Valasquez fits out an expedition to New Spain—the command given to Namaen, with orders to arrest Cortes—Namaen sets a price on Cortes' head—Cortes attacks him in the night, and is victorious—returns to Mexico, and received with transports of joy by his followers—The Mexicans attack the Spaniards—great slaughter among them—Death of Montazuma—Cortes determines to leave the city—retreats in the night—is attacked, and the number of his men reduced one half—they retreat to Tlascala, harassed by the Mexicans—collects troops and again sets out for the conquest of Mexico—a conspiracy against his life—the ringleader executed.

HITHERTO the Spaniards had done little more than to enlarge their discoveries upon the continent of America; from the coast of Florida north, they had touched at different places, as far as thirty-five degrees south of the equa-

tor; they had visited most of the islands in the Gulf of Mexico, and off the coast of the main land, and had discovered the great Southern Ocean, which opened extensive prospects and unbounded expectations in that quarter.

But although the settlements at Hispaniola and Cuba, had become considerably flourishing and important, and afforded great facilities for enterprises on the continent, no colony had been maintained there, except the feeble and languishing one at Darien, and nothing had been attempted towards the conquest of this extensive country which had been discovered. The ferocity and courage of the natives, with the other obstacles attending such an enterprise, had discouraged the adventurers, who had explored the continent, and they returned contented with the discoveries they had made, and the taking possession of the country, without attempting to maintain any foothold in it. This was the state of Spanish affairs in America in the year 1518, twenty-six years after the discovery of the country by Columbus. But at this period a new era commenced, and the astonishing genius, and almost incredible exertions of one man, conquered a powerful and populous nation, which compared with those tribes, with which the Spaniards had hitherto been acquainted, were a civilised people, understanding the arts of life, and were settled in towns, villages, and even large, magnificent and opulent cities.

Intelligence of the important discoveries made by Grijalva, was no sooner communicated to Valasquez, than prompted by ambition, he conceived the plan of fitting out a large armament for the conquest and occupation of the country; and so great was his ardour, that without waiting for the authority of his Sovereign, or the return of Grijalva, the expedition was prepared and ready to sail about the time the latter entered the port of St. Jago de Cuba. Valasquez was ambitious of the glory which he expected would attend the expedition, yet being sensible that he had neither the courage or capacity to command it himself, he was greatly embarrassed in selecting a person who suited his views; as he wanted a man of sufficient courage, talents and experience to command, but who at the same time, would be a passive instrument in his hands. It was with no small difficulty a man of this description could be found, as those possessing the requisite abilities, had too much spirit to be the creatures of a jealous and capricious mas-

ter. At length two of the secretaries of Valasquez, recommended Fernando Cortes, as a man suitable for his purpose; and, happily for his country, but fatally for himself, he immediately fell in with the proposition. Valasquez believed that Cortes possessed courage and talents for command, united with a bold and adventurous spirit, and that his humble condition would keep him dependant on his will, and prevent his aspiring at independence. Cortes was one of the adventurers who came out to Hispaniola in the year 1504, when the Island was under the governorship of Ovando, who was kinsman of his; from which circumstance, he was immediately employed in several lucrative and honourable stations; but not being satisfied with these, he accompanied Valasquez in his expedition to Cuba; and distinguished himself in the conquest of that Island. Cortes received his commission with the warmest gratitude, and erecting his standard before his own house, he immediately assumed the ensigns of his new dignity.

His extraordinary talents and activity were at once brought into requisition, and so great and unremitted were his exertions in forwarding the expedition, that he sailed from St. Jago de Cuba on the eighteenth day of November, in the year 1518; a short time after he received his commission, Cortes proceeded to Trinidad, a small settlement on the same side of the Island, where he was joined by several adventurers, and received a supply of provisions and military stores. Valasquez, who had been jealous of Cortes before he sailed, was confirmed in his suspicions of his fidelity as soon as he was no longer in his power, and immediately despatched orders to Trinidad to deprive him of his commission. But he had already acquired the confidence of his officers and men in such a degree as to be able to intimidate the chief magistrate of the place, and depart without molestation. From this place Cortes sailed to the Havana, where he obtained more recruits and additional supplies. Valasquez irritated and mortified at the failure of his first attempt to deprive Cortes of his commission, despatched a confidential friend to the place with peremptory orders to Pedro Barba his Lieutenant Governor in that colony, instantly to arrest Cortes, and send him under a strong guard, a prisoner to St. Jago, and to countermand the sailing of the fleet. Cortes having obtained information of the designs of Valasquez, before his messenger arrived, immediately took measures to counteract

them. He ordered such of his officers as he knew to be particularly attached to the governor, on some service abroad and then acquainted the men of the unreasonable jealousy of the governor, and of his intention to deprive him of his command, and arrest the progress of the armament. The officers and men were equally astonished and indignant at the conduct of the governor, and with one voice beseeched Cortes not to deprive them of a leader in whom they all had such confidence, and offered to shed the last drop of their blood to maintain his authority.

This was the result expected by Cortes, and was highly gratifying to his ambition. In reply, he informed his men that he would never desert soldiers who had given such signal proofs of attachment, and promised instantly to conduct them to that rich country which had been so long the object of their hopes and wishes. Every thing was now ready for their departure.

The fleet consisted of eleven vessels, one of an hundred tons, three of seventy or eighty, and the residue small open barks. There were on board five hundred and eight soldiers, and one hundred and nine seamen and artificers, making in all six hundred and seventeen men. A part of the men had fire arms, the rest cross-bows, swords, and spears. They had only sixteen horses and ten small field pieces. With this force Cortes was about to commence war with a view of conquest, upon a nation whose dominions were more extensive than all the kingdoms subject to the Spanish crown, and which was filled with people considerably advanced in civilization. Although this expedition was undertaken for the purpose of aggression and for plunder and conquest, yet so strange and blind is religious fanaticism, that with these objects were blended the propagation of christianity; and upon the Spanish standards, a large cross was displayed with this inscription: "*Let us follow the cross for under this sign we shall conquer!*"

The expedition touched at the several places which had been visited by Grijalva, and continued its course to the westward until he arrived at St. Juan de Ulua, where a large canoe filled with people, two of whom appeared to be persons of distinction, approached the fleet with signs of friendship, and came on board without any symptoms of fear or distrust. By means of a female Indian, who had previously been taken on board, and was afterwards known by the name of Donna Marina, and who understood the Az-

tec, or Mexican language. Cortes ascertained that the two persons of distinction were deputies despatched by the two governors of the province, and that they acknowledged the authority of a great monarch, whom they called Montazuma, who was sovereign of the whole country; and that they were sent to inquire what his object was in visiting their shores, and to offer him any assistance he might stand in need of, in order to continue his voyage. Cortes informed them that he had visited their country with no other than the most friendly intentions, and for an object of very great importance to their king and country. The next morning without waiting an answer, the Spaniards landed; and the natives, like the man who warmed the frozen snake, which being revived, bit his child to death, assisted them with great alacrity, little suspecting that they were introducing into their peaceful borders, the invaders and despoilers of their country. In the course of the day, Teutile and Pilpatoe, the two governors of the province, entered the camp of Cortes, with a numerous retinue, and were received with much ceremony and apparent respect. Cortes informed them that he came as ambassador from Don Carlos, king of Castile, the most powerful monarch of the East, and that the object of his embassy was of such vast moment, that he could communicate it to no one but Montazuma himself, and therefore requested that they would conduct him into the presence of the Emperor. The Mexican officers were astonished at so extraordinary a proposition, and attempted to dissuade Cortes from it; but he insisted upon a compliance with his request, in a peremptory and almost authoratative manner. In the meantime, he observed some of the natives delineating on white cotton cloth, figures of the ships, horses, artillery, soldiers, firearms and other objects which attracted their attention; and being informed that these were to be conveyed to Montazuma, he wished to fill their Emperor with the greatest possible awe, of the irresistible power of his strange guests. He instantly ordered the troops formed in order of battle, various martial movements and evolutions were performed, the horse exhibited a specimen of their agility and impetuosity, and the field pieces were discharged into the wood, which made dreadful havoc among the trees. The Mexicans looked on in silent amazement, until the cannon were fired, when some fled, others fell on the ground, and all were filled with consternation and dismay; and were con-

founded at the sight of men who seemed to command the thunder of heaven, and whose power appeared so nearly to resemble that of the Great Spirit.

Messengers were immediately despatched to Montazuma, and returned in a few days, although Mexico, where he resided, was one hundred and eighty miles from St. Juan de Ulua, where Cortes was. This despatch was in consequence of an improvement in police, which had not then been introduced into Europe; courriers were stationed at given distances along the principal roads, and being trained to the business, they conveyed intelligence with great despatch. Teutile and Pilpatoe, were empowered to deliver the answer of their master to Cortes; but previous to which, agreeably to their instructions, and with the mistaken hope of conciliating his favour, they offered to him the presents which had been sent by the Emperor. These were introduced with great ceremony, by a train of one hundred Indians, each loaded with the presents of his sovereign: they were deposited on mats so placed as to shew them to the greatest advantage, and consisted of the manufactures of the country, such as fine cotton stuffs, so splendid as to resemble rich silks; pictures of animals and other rational objects, formed of feathers of various hues, with such wonderful art and skill, as to rival the works of the pencil; but what most attracted the attention of the Spaniards, whose avidity for the precious metals knew no bounds, was the manufactures of gold and silver. Among the bracelets, collars, rings and trinkets of gold, were two large plates of a circular form, one of massive gold, representing the sun, the other of silver, an emblem of the moon. These specimens of the riches of the country, instead of conciliating the favour of the Spaniards, and inducing them to quit the country, had the effect of oil cast upon flames, with the view to extinguish it; they inflamed their cupidity for gold to such a pitch, as that they could hardly be restrained in their ardour to become masters of a country affording such riches. These splendid presents were received by Cortes with great respect for the monarch whose liberality bestowed them. This gave courage to the Mexican officers, who informed Cortes, that though Montazuma wished him to accept these presents, as a token of his respect, yet he could not consent to have him approach, with an armed force, nearer to his capital, or remain any longer in his dominions. "In-

form your master," said Cortes, in a peremptory tone, " that I insist on my first demand, and that I cannot return, without disgrace, until I have had an interview with the sovereign, whom I was sent to visit in the name of my king." The Mexicans were astonished at this boldness, as they had been accustomed to see the will of their monarch obeyed, in the most implicit manner. They requested time to send to the emperor once more, with which request the Spanish general complied. The Mexican monarch and his counsellors were greatly embarrassed and alarmed, and knew not what measures to adopt to expel from their country such bold and troublesome intruders. Their fears were increased by the influence of superstition, there having long prevailed a tradition, that their country would be invaded and overrun by a formidable race of men, who would come from the regions towards the rising of the sun. Montazuma and his advisers, dreading the consequences of involving their country in war with enemies who seemed to be of a higher order of beings, and to command and direct the elements, sent to Cortes a more positive command to leave the country, and most preposterously accompanied this with a rich present, which rendered the Spaniards the more bent on becoming masters of a country that appeared to be filled with the precious metals. When Teutile delivered the ultimatum of his sovereign, together with the rich presents, and Cortes again insisted on his demand of seeing the emperor, the Mexican abruptly turned and left the camp, with looks and gestures which plainly shewed that his astonishment was not greater than his indignation, at the boldness and insolence of the Spanish general. This terminated all friendly intercourse between the natives and the Spaniards, and hostilities were immediately expected. But at this crisis the situation of Cortes was rendered more alarming, by disaffection among his men, which had been produced by the danger of their situation and the exertions of some of the officers, who were friendly to Valasquez. Diego de Ordaz, the leader of the malecontents, presented a remonstrance to Cortes, demanding, with great boldness, to be conducted immediately back to Cuba. Cortes listened, with attention, to the remonstrance, and in compliance with it, immediately gave orders for the fleet to be in readiness to sail the next day. This was no sooner known, than it produced the effect Cortes had foreseen ; the whole camp was in confusion and almost in mutiny.

All demanded to see their leader, and when Cortes appeared, they asked whether it was worthy Castilian courage to be daunted by the first appearance of danger, and to fly before the enemy appeared? They insisted on pursuing the enterprise, the value of which had vastly increased from what they had seen, and declared that they would follow him, with alacrity, through every danger, to the possession and conquest of those rich countries, of which they had seen such satisfactory evidence. Cortes, delighted with their ardour, declared that his views were the same as their own, but that he had given the order to re-embark, from a belief that it was the wish of all; but being happy to learn that they were animated with so noble a spirit, he would resume the plan he had at first conceived, which was the establishment of a settlement on the sea coast, and then to penetrate into the heart of the country; and he had no doubt but that he could conduct them in a career of victory which would redound to their glory and establish their fortune.

As the first step, towards planting a colony, Cortes assembled the principal men of his party, who proceeded to elect a council of magistrates, in whom its government was to be vested. The magistrates, chosen, were called by the official names which existed in Spain, and were to exercise the same jurisdiction; and all of them were the devoted friends of Cortes. The council was immediately assembled, when Cortes appeared before them, with the most profound respect, and, addressing the new tribunal, he informed them that as the sovereign of the country had already shewn a hostile disposition, the security of the colony depended upon military force, and that on subordination and discipline; and as his commission, received from the Governor of Cuba, had long since been revoked, his authority might be questionable; he therefore resigned his commission, and observed, that though he had been accustomed to command, yet he should cheerfully obey whomsoever they might see fit to place at the head of affairs. As he had arranged this matter with his friends in the council, the resignation of Cortes was accepted, and immediately he was chosen, by their unanimous voice, Captain-General of the Army, and Chief Justice of the Colony; his commission was made out in the king's name, with the most ample powers, and was to continue in force until the royal pleasure might be ascertained. Before accepting this appoint-

ment, the troops were consulted, and they unanimously confirmed the choice, and the air resounded with Cortes' name, and all swore to shed the last drop of their blood in support of his authority. Some of the adherents of Valasquez, exclaimed against these illegal proceedings, but Cortes, by a prompt exercise of authority, and by arresting and putting in chains several of the leaders of the malecontents, suppressed a faction, which, had it not been timely checked, might have endangered all his hopes. Cortes was now placed in a situation which he had long desired, by rendering himself entirely independent of the Governor of Cuba.

Having employed some of his officers to survey the coast, the Spanish adventurer resolved to remove about forty miles to the northward, where there was a more commodious harbour, the soil more fertile, and in other respects a more eligible spot for a settlement. He immediately marked out the ground for a town, and as avarice and religious fanaticism were the two principles which governed the conduct of all the Spanish adventurers in America, he named the town *Villa rica, de la Vera Cruz—the rich town of the true cross.* Huts were ordered to be erected, which might afford a shelter; these were to be surrounded by fortifications and works of sufficient strength to afford security from the attack of the natives; and by the united exertions of officers and men, Cortes himself setting an example of industry and perseverance, and with the assistance of the natives, the works were forwarded with astonishing rapidity. In proceeding to this place, the Spaniards had passed through the country of Zempoalla, and had an interview with several of the caziques of that settlement, and learnt, with much satisfaction, that they were unfriendly to Montazuma, and anxious to throw off his yoke; he also learnt many particulars concerning that monarch; that he was a great tyrant, and oppressed his subjects, that he had conquered some provinces and ruined others by excessive exactions.

Whilst employed in erecting the town, the caziques of Zempoalla and of Quiabislan, frequently visited them, which gave Cortes an opportunity to raise their conceptions of the character and power of the Spaniards to the highest pitch, and at the same time to encourage their opposition to the government of Montazuma, by assuring them of his protection. He so far succeeded in this, that when some of Montazuma's officers came among them, to

collect the usual tribute, they seized them, and treated them as prisoners, and, agreeably to their barbarous superstition, were preparing to sacrifice them to their gods, when Cortes interfered, and delivered them from their impending fate. This act of open rebellion served to attach these caziques firmly to the Spaniards, as their protection alone could save them from the dreadful consequences of Montazuma's displeasure; and Cortes soon succeeded in persuading them to acknowledge themselves, in a formal manner, to be the vassals of the Spanish monarch. Their example was followed by several other tribes At this period, Cortes despatched a vessel to Spain, with a high-coloured description of the country he had discovered, which was confirmed by many of the specimens of wealth they had received from the natives, with an account of the progress he had made in establishing the Spanish authority over it; he attempted to justify his throwing off the authority of Valasquez and setting up for himself, and requested a confirmation of his authority from the crown.

Disaffection again appeared among the men, of a more alarming character than what had existed before, which, though promptly suppressed, filled his mind with disquietude and concern, and lead him to adopt one of the boldest measures of which history affords any account. He was satisfied, that from the appalling dangers, and magnitude of the undertaking, and from the spirit of disaffection which although suppressed, still lurked among his troops, it would be impossible to maintain his authority over them, except by cutting off the means of return. After reflecting on the subject with deep solicitude, he resolved on destroying the fleet, which would place the Spaniards in a situation, that they must conquor or perish; and by the most plausible and artful representations, he succeeded in persuading his men to acquiesce in this desperate measure. With universal consent the ships were drawn on shore, and after being stripped of their sails, rigging, and every thing of value, they were broken to pieces. His influence must have been unbounded, to be able to persuade his men to an act, which is unparalleled in the annals of man: five hundred men voluntarily cut off their means of returning, and shut themselves up in a hostile country, filled with warlike and ferocious inhabitants whose savage mode of warfare, spared their prisoners only for the torture, or to be offered in sacrifice to their angry deities.

Cortes now felt prepared to enter upon a career of victory and conquest, in some measure suited to his ambition and rapacity. Having advanced to Zempoalla, his zeal for religion lead him to overturn the idols in the temples, and to place a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary, in their stead; which rash step came near blasting all his hopes in the bud. The natives were filled with horror, and were excited to arms by their priests; but Cortes had such an ascendency over them that he finally pacified them, and restored harmony.

He marched from Zempoalla on the sixteenth of August, with five hundred men, fifteen horse, and six field pieces, with the intention of penetrating into the heart of a great and powerful nation. The residue of his men, most of whom were unfit for service, were left as a garrison at Vera Cruz. The cazique of Zempoalla, supplied him with provisions, and with two hundred Indians, called *Tamenes*, whose office it was to carry burdens, and do other menial services; together with four hundred soldiers, most of whom were persons of note, who might be hostages for the fidelity of their chief. He advanced near the territories of the Tlascalans, and having learned that they were implacable enemies of the Mexicans, he was in hopes to pass through their country unmolested. He dispatched four of the Zempoallans to request this privilege, and explain his friendly intentions. The Tlascalans, instead of granting this request, seized the ambassadors, and were preparing to sacrifice them to their gods. Cortes was obliged to march into their territories, and being a fierce and warlike people, they attacked him with great fury, and with vast numbers; and although defeated and dispersed in every attack, they rallied and returned to the conflict, with valor and perseverance far surpassing any thing which had been witnessed in America. Although the Tlascalans brought into the field immense armies, and fought with courage and perseverance, they were unable to stop the progress of the Spaniards—so great is the advantage of discipline and science over barbarian force. They suffered severely in the successive conflicts, and only killed two horses and wounded several men, of the Spaniards. Believing the Spaniards to be invincible, as the last resort they consulted their priests concerning these strange invaders, and how they could be repelled; and were informed that they were the offspring of the Sun, produced by

his creative energy, in regions of the East, and that they were invincible during the day, but at night, when deprived of the sustaining influence of the Sun, they dwindled into mere mortals, and could be as easily overcome as other men. This response appeared very plausible, and immediately the Tlascalans prepared to surprise and attack the Spaniards in the night. But Cortes was too vigilant to be surprised by an Indian stratagem; his outposts observed the movements of the Indians, and gave the alarm; the troops were immediately formed, sallied out of the camp, and dispersed the enemy with great slaughter. The last effort, the advice of their priests, having completely failed, they became desirous of ending hostilities with a race that they regarded as more than mortal, but were at loss whether they were good or evil beings. "If," said they, "you are divinities of a cruel and savage nature, we present you five slaves, that you may eat their flesh and drink their blood; if you are mild deities, accept an offering of incense and variegated plumes; if you are mere mortals, here are meat and bread and fruit, to nourish you." Peace was concluded, and the Tlascalans acknowledged themselves tributary to the Spanish monarch, and agreed to assist Cortes in his operations against the Mexicans, and he engaged to protect them and their country. The Tlascalans, in every adversity of fortune, remained faithful to the Spaniards, and it was to this alliance that they were indebted for success in the conquest of the Mexican empire.

Cortes reposed twenty days at Tlascala, to recruit his troops, who were exhausted with hard service, and enfeebled by the distempers of the climate. During this interval he obtained extensive information concerning the Mexican empire and the character and political condition of its sovereign. His troops being recruited, the Spanish general commenced his march towards Mexico, with six thousand Tlascalan warriors added to his force. He directed his route to Cholula, a considerable town, five leagues distant, celebrated for its vast pyramid, or temple, and as being regarded as the seat of their gods. Here, although they had entered the town without opposition, and with much apparent respect, the Spaniards soon discovered a deep plot laid for their destruction, and having obtained satisfactory proof, Cortes determined to make such an example as would inspire his enemies with terror. He drew his forces up in the centre of the town, and sent for most of

the magistrates and chief citizens, under various pretences, who, at a given signal, were seized, and then the troops and the Tlascalans fell on the people, who, being deprived of their leaders, and filled with astonishment, dropped their arms, and remained motionless, without making the least effort to defend themselves. The slaughter was dreadful; the streets were filled with the dead and covered with blood; the priests and some of the chief families took refuge in the temples: these were set on fire and all consumed together. This scene of carnage continued for two days, during which, six thousand of the natives perished, without the loss of a single individual of their destroyers.

From Cholula it was but twenty leagues to Mexico, and Cortes marched directly towards the capital; through every place he passed, he was received as a deliverer, and heard the grievances of the inhabitants, all of which he promised to redress. He was highly gratified on perceiving that the seeds of discontent were scattered through the the empire, and not confined to the remote provinces. As the Spaniards approached the capital, the unhappy monarch was distracted with hopes and fears, and knew not what to do; one day he sent orders inviting them to advance; the next, commanding them to retire and leave the country. As the Spaniards drew near to the city, one thousand persons, of distinction, came out to meet them, clad in mantles of fine cotton and adorned with plumes, each, in his order, passed by and saluted Cortes in the manner deemed most respectful in their country. At length they announced the approach of the Emperor himself; his retinue consisted of two hundred persons, dressed in uniform, with plumes and feathers, who marched two and two, bare-footed, with their eyes fixed on the ground; to these succeeded a higher rank, with more showy apparel. Montazuma followed in a litter, or chair, richly ornamented with gold and feathers, borne on the shoulders of four of his favourites; a canopy, of curious workmanship, was supported over his head; three officers walked before him, with gold rods, which, at given intervals, they raised up, as a signal for the people to bow their heads and hide their faces, as unworthy to behold so august a sovereign. As he approached Cortes, the latter dismounted and advanced in the most respectful manner; Montazuma at the same time alighted, and leaning on two of his attendants, approached, with a slow and stately pace, cotton cloth being strewed on the ground, that he might

not touch the earth. Cortes saluted him with profound reverence, according to the European fashion, and Montazuma returned the salutation in the manner of his country: he touched with his hand the ground; and then kissed it. This being the mode of salutation of an inferior to a superior, the Mexicans viewed with astonishment this act of condescension in their monarch, whom they had been accustomed to consider as exalted above all mortals, and related to the gods. Montazuma having conducted the Spaniards to the quarters provided for them, on retiring, addressed Cortes as follows:—"You are now with your brothers, in your own house; refresh yourselves after your fatigue, and be happy until I return." The Spaniards were lodged in an ancient palace, surrounded with a wall, with towers at proper distances, which would serve for defence; the accommodations were not only sufficient for the Spaniards, but likewise for their Indian allies.

Mexico is situated in an immense plain, or valley, surrounded by lofty mountains, and all the waters that descend from these mountains are collected in several small and two large lakes, of about ninety miles in circumference, which communicate with each other. The city is built on the banks of one of these lakes and several adjacent islands; the access to the city is by several causeways, of great extent; at proper distances are openings, with bridges, for the water to pass, when it overflows the flat. The houses of the inhabitants were little better than Indian huts, yet placed in regular order; but the temples and other public buildings, the houses of the monarch and persons of distinction, were of vast dimensions, and had some claims to magnificence, especially when it is considered that the inhabitants knew not the use of iron or edged tools, and were destitute of the aid of domestic animals.

The Spaniards soon became alarmed for their safety, as it was apparent, that by breaking down the bridges their retreat would be cut off, and they would be shut up in a hostile city, where all their superiority in arms could not prevent their being overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies. Reflecting, with deep concern, on his situation, Cortes resolved on a measure scarcely less bold and desperate than that of destroying his ships; this was to seize the sovereign of a great empire, in his own capital, surrounded by his subjects, and retain him as a prisoner in the Spanish quarters. When he first proposed this mea-

sure to his officers, most of them were startled with its audacity; but he convinced them that it was the only step that could save them from destruction, and they agreed instantly to make the attempt. At his usual hour of visiting Montazuma, Cortes repaired to the palace, with five of his bravest officers, and as many trusty soldiers; thirty chosen men followed at some distance, and appeared to be sauntering along the street. The rest of the troops, and their allies, were prepared to sally out at the first alarm. As the Spaniards entered, the Mexican officers retired, and Cortes addressed the monarch in a very different tone from what he had been accustomed to do, and accused him of being the instigator of the attack made on his garrison left at Vera Cruz, in which several Spaniards were killed, and demanded reparation. The monarch, filled with astonishment and indignation, asserted his innocence with great warmth, and as a proof of it, ordered the officer, who attacked the Spaniards, brought to Mexico as a prisoner. Cortes pretended that he was satisfied with this declaration, but said that his soldiers would never be convinced that Montazuma did not entertain hostile intentions towards them, unless he repaired to the Spanish quarters, as a mark of confidence, where he would be served and honoured as became a great monarch. The first mention of so strange and alarming a proposal, almost bereft the unhappy monarch of his senses; he remonstrated and protested against it; the altercation became warm, and continued for several hours, when Valasquez de Leon, a daring and impetuous young officer, exclaimed, with great vehemence, "why waste more words or time in vain? let us seize him instantly, or stab him to the heart." The audacity of this declaration, accompanied with fierce and threatening looks and gestures, intimidated Montazuma, he submitted to his fate, and agreed to comply with their request. Montazuma now called in his officers and informed them of his determination; they heard it with astonishment and grief, but made no reply. He was, accordingly, carried to the Spanish quarters, with great parade, but bathed in tears. We consult history in vain for any parallel to this transaction, whether we consider the boldness and temerity of the measure, or the success with which it was executed.

Qulpopoca, the commander who attacked the garrison at Vera Cruz, his son, and six of his principal officers, were

delivered to Cortes, to be punished as he deemed proper ; and after a mock trial, before a Spanish court martial, they were condemned to be burnt alive, which infamous and wicked sentence was carried into execution, amidst vast multitudes of their astonished countrymen, who viewed the scene with silent horror. Montazuma remained in the quarters of the Spaniards for six months, was treated with apparent respect and served by his own officers, but strictly watched and kept in " durance vile." During this period, Cortes, having possession of the sovereign, governed the empire in his name ; his commissions and orders were issued as formerly, and strictly obeyed, although it was known that the monarch was a prisoner, in the hands of the invaders of the country. The Spaniards made themselves acquainted with the country, visited the remote provinces, displaced some officers, whom they suspected of unfriendly designs, and appointed others, more obsequious to their will. And so completely was the spirit of Montazuma subdued, that at length Cortes induced him to acknowledge himself as tributary, and a vassal of the King of Castile. This last and most humiliating condition, to which a proud and haughty monarch, accustomed to independent and absolute power, can be reduced, overwhelmed him with the deepest distress. He called together the chief men of the empire, and informed them of this determination, but was scarcely able to speak, being frequently interrupted with tears and groans, flowing from a heart filled with anguish.

Cortes had deprived Montazuma of his liberty, of his wealth, and of his empire : he wished now to deprive him of his religion. But though the unhappy monarch had submitted to every other demand, this he would not yield to, and Cortes, enraged at his obstinacy, had the rashness to order the idols of the temples thrown down by force ; but the priests, taking arms in their defence, and the people rallying in crowds to support them, Cortes was obliged to desist from an act which the inhabitants viewed as the highest sacrilege. This rash step excited the bitter enmity of the priests against the Spaniards, who regarded them as the enemies of the gods, who would avenge the insult which had been offered to them. They roused the leading men, and from this moment the Mexicans began to reflect on the means of destroying or expelling such audacious and impious invaders. They held frequent consulta-

tions with one another, and with their captive prince. Being unwilling to have recourse to arms, if it could be avoided, Montazuma called Cortes into his presence, and informed him, that now all the objects of his mission were fulfilled, and it was the will, both of the gods and of his people, that the Spaniards should instantly depart from [illegible]e empire, and if he did not comply with this request, [illegible]evitable destruction would overtake him. Cortes, [illegible]inking it prudent not to appear to oppose the wishes of [illegible]e Mexicans, informed Montazuma that he was expecting [illegible]oon to leave the country, and had already began to make preparations for his departure.

Whilst Cortes was deeply anxious as to his situation, in consequence of the evident designs of the Mexicans, a more alarming danger threatened him from another quarter. Valasquez, Governor of Cuba, having obtained intelligence of Cortes proceedings ; that he had renounced all dependence on his authority, was attempting to establish an independent colony, and had applied to the king to confirm his acts, was filled with indignation, and resolved to be avenged on the man who had so basely betrayed his confidence and usurped his authority. He engaged, with great ardour, in preparing an expedition, which was destined to New Spain, to arrest Cortes, bring him home in irons, and then to prosecute and complete the conquest of the country in his own name. The armament consisted of eighteen vessels, having on board eight hundred foot soldiers and eighty horsemen, with a train of twelve pieces of cannon. The command of this expedition was entrusted to Narvaez, with instructions to seize Cortes and his principal officers, and then complete the conquest of the country. The fatal experience of Valasquez had neither inspired him with wisdom or courage ; for he still entrusted to another what he ought to have executed himself.

When Cortes first heard that several ships had appeared on the coast, he supposed that it was an expedition which his messengers had procured to be sent from Spain as a re-enforcement. But the joy which this occasioned was soon turned to sorrow, when, instead of friends, he learnt that it was a new and more formidable enemy. In this appalling exigency, Cortes was greatly embarrassed how to act ; he finally concluded that he could rely only on his arms, and leaving one hundred and fifty men in Mexico, to guard the royal prisoner, and maintain his authority, he

commenced his march towards the coast, with the residue of his troops, which, after being re-enforced by the garrison at Vera Cruz, did not exceed two hundred and fifty men. Although sensible that the dispute must be decided by the sword, he despatched several messengers to Narvaez, to offer terms of accommodation, but without success; and the demands of Narvaez were so insolent as greatly to enrage the followers of Cortes. Narvaez, relying on his superiority of numbers, and confident of victory, set a price on Cortes' head. At length the armies approached near each other, and Narvaez immediately marched out to offer Cortes battle. But the latter prudently declined an engagement, and moving off, took a station where he was secure from attack. He foresaw that the enemy would naturally give themselves up to respose, after their fatigues, and resolved to surprise and attack them in the night. His officers and men highly approved of this measure, and it was executed in a most gallant manner, and with success surpassing the most sanguine hopes he could have entertained. The sentinels were seized and the enemy was completely surprised; and after a desperate but ineffectual struggle, their commander having been wounded and made prisoner, they surrendered at discretion. Cortes treated the vanquished not as enemies, but as his countrymen, and offered to conduct them back to Cuba, or to receive them into his service on the same terms as his own soldiers. To the latter proposition they all acceded, with the exception of a few personal friends of Narvaez, and avowed the satisfaction they felt in following so distinguished a commander. Thus by the good fortune and great abilities of the conqueror of Mexico, an event which threatened to annihilate all his hopes, was turned so greatly to his advantage that it afforded him a re-enforcement exceeding in number the troops he then had, and placed him at the head of one thousand Spaniards. He immediately commenced a rapid march back to the capital, a courier having arrived, just after the victory over Narvaez, from the garrison left there, with intelligence that the Mexicans, immediately after the departure of Cortes, had taken arms and attacked the Spaniards in their quarters, with great fury. He found, as he passed through the Mexican territories, that the spirit of hostility to the Spaniards was not confined to the capital; the inhabitants deserted the towns through which he passed, and removed all provisions, so that he could scarcely

subsist his troops. Nothing but the rapidity of his movements could have saved the garrison, as the Mexicans had destroyed the two brigantines which Cortes had built to secure the command of the lake, reduced their magazines to ashes, and were carrying on hostilities with such fury and perseverance that with all their bravery the Spaniards must soon have been overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies. But so ignorant were the Mexicans of the art of war, and so little had they learnt from experience, that they permitted Cortes again to enter the capital, when they could, with the greatest ease, have prevented it, by breaking down the bridges and causeways. The garrison received their countrymen with transports of joy, and Cortes, feeling confident in his strength, had the imprudence to throw off the disguise which had covered his actions, and to treat the captive monarch with contempt, and scarcely to conceal his intentions of subjugating the country. This indiscretion rekindled the flame of war; and emboldened by their success, which convinced them that their enemies were not invincible, the Mexicans collected the next day after the arrival of Cortes, in vast multitudes, and attacked the Spaniards, in their quarters, with great impetuosity. The Spanish leader and his followers were astonished at the courage and spirit of men, who had, for a long time, submitted so tamely to the yoke they had imposed on them. Crowded together in the narrow streets, the Spanish artillery swept them away at every discharge, like autumnal leaves before the blast; yet they remained undaunted, and returned to the assault with the bravery and determination of men resolved to conquer or die. The contest was continued for several days, with the same spirit and perseverance. At length Cortes resolved to make a sally with so strong a force, that he hoped to drive the enemy out of the city and end the contest. But he was met by so numerous a body of men, who, animated by their priests and led on by their nobles, fought with such desperation that after a day of incessant toil, during which immense slaughter was made of the Mexicans, and a part of the city burnt, the Spaniards returned to their quarters, harassed by the multitude and perseverance of their enemies and weary with their own carnage, without having effected any thing decisive, or that compensated them for the great loss of twelve men killed and sixty wounded. Being now sensible that he could not maintain himself, in

the midst of an exasperated population, with a handful of men, however great might be their superiority, he resolved to try what would be the effect of the intercession of Montazuma, towards soothing the wrath of his people. Accordingly, the next morning, when the Mexicans advanced to the attack, the wretched prince, made the instrument of his own disgrace and of the enslavement of his subjects, was constrained to ascend the battlement, clad in his royal robes, and to address his subjects, and attempt to allay their rage and dissuade them from hostilities. As he came in sight of the Mexicans, their weapons dropped from their hands and they prostrated themselves on the earth; but when he stopped speaking, a deep and sullen murmur arose and spread through the ranks; reproaches and threats followed, and the feelings of the people swelling in a moment like a sudden rush of waters, vollies of arrows, stones, and every missile, were poured upon the ramparts, so suddenly and with such violence, that before the Spanish soldiers, appointed to protect Montazuma, could cover him with their bucklers, he was wounded by the arrows and struck by a stone on the temple, which felled him to the ground. This fall occasioned a sudden transition in the feelings of the multitude, being horror-struck with the crime they had committed, they threw down their arms and fled with precipitation. Montazuma was removed to his apartments by the Spaniards, but his proud spirit could not brook this last mortification, and perceiving that he was not only the prisoner and tool of his enemies, but the object of the vengeance and contempt of his subjects, he tore the bandages from his wounds in a transport of feeling, and persisted in a refusal to take any nourishment, with a firmness that neither entreaties nor threats could overcome, and thus terminated his wretched existence. He obstinately refused, to the last, all the solicitations, accompanied with all the terrors of future punishment, to embrace the Christian faith.

With the death of Montezuma ended all hopes of pacifying the Mexicans, and Cortes was sensible that his salvation depended on a successful retreat. The morning following the fall of their prince, the Mexicans renewed the assault with redoubled fury, and succeeded in taking possession of a high temple which overlooked the Spanish quarters, and greatly exposed them to the missiles of the enemy. A detachment of chosen men, ordered to dis-

lodge them were twice repulsed, when Cortes taking the command himself rushed into the thickest of the combat, with a drawn sword, and by his presence and example, after a dreadful carnage, the Spaniards made themselves masters of the tower and set fire to it. Cortes was determined to retreat from the city, but was at loss in what way to attempt it, when a private soldier, who from a smattering of learning sustained the character of an astrologer, advised him, to undertake it, in the night, and assured him of complete success. Cortes the more readily fell in with this plan, as he knew it was a superstitious principle, with the Mexicans, not to attack an enemy in the night. The arrangements being made, the Spaniards moved forward about midnight over the shortest causeway, and all was silence, until they reached the first breach. Whilst they were preparing to place their bridge over the breach, at the moment, when they supposed that their retreat had not been discovered, they were astonished with a tremendous shout, accompanied with martial instruments, of an immense multitude which covered the whole lake. A shower of arrows and stones, was followed by a furious charge. The Spaniards defended themselves with their usual bravery; but being confined in a narrow causeway, and hemmed in on all sides by the multitude of their enemies, all the Mexicans being under arms, they were deprived of the advantages of their superior discipline and skill, and from the darkness of the night they could scarcely distinguish friends from foes: after sustaining a dreadful conflict attended with immense slaughter, for a considerable time, they were thrown into confusion. They finally forced their way over the remaining part of the causeway, the dead bodies serving to fill up the breaches. In the morning Cortes found his troops reduced to half their number and a large portion of these covered with wounds, and all filled with grief, at the loss of their friends and companions. All the artillery was lost, the ammunition and the baggage, most of the horses, and nearly all their ill-gotten gold. The last, which was the the chief object of their ambition, contributed greatly to their fatal disaster, as the soldiers, were so encumbered with it as greatly to impede their exertions. More than two thousand of the Tlascalans were killed. The Spaniards now commenced their march for Tlascala, and for six days continued it without respite, through swamps, and over mountains, harrassed by the Mexicans, at a distance;

and sometimes closely attacked. On the sixth day, they approached near to Otumba, and discovered numerous parties moving in various directions. Their interpreter informed them, that they often exclaimed with exultation, "Go on robbers; go to the place where you shall quickly meet the fate due to your crimes." The Spaniards continued their march until they reached the summit of a mountain, when an extensive valley opened to their astonished visions, covered with an innumerable multitude, which explained the meaning of what they had just seen and heard. The vast number of their enemies and the suddenness with which they had appeared, appalled the stoutest hearts, and despair was depicted in every countenance. But Cortes, who alone was unshaken, informed them that there remained but an alternative, to conquer or perish, and immediately led them to the charge. The Mexicans waited their approach with courage; but so great is the superiority of discipline and military science, over brute force, that the small battalion of the Spaniards made an irresistible impression, and forced its way through the armed multitude. But although the Mexicans were dispersed and obliged to give way wherever the Spaniards approached, yet as they retreated in one quarter, they advanced in another, so that the Spaniards were constantly surrounded, and had become nearly exhausted by their own carnage. At this crisis, Cortes, observing the standard of the Mexican empire, and recollecting to have heard that on the fate of that depended the success of a battle, assembled some of his bravest officers and rushed, with great impetuosity, through the crowd, and by the stroke of a lance wounded the general who held it, and threw him to the ground; whereupon one of his officers dismounted, stabbed him to the heart, and secured the imperial standard. The fall of their leader and standard had an instantaneous and magical effect; every tie which held them together seemed dissolved; a universal panic prevailed, their weapons dropped from their hands, and they all fled with precipitation to the mountains, leaving every thing behind them. The spoil which the Spaniards collected, compensated them, in some measure, for their loss in retreating from the Mexican capital. The next day they entered with joy the territories of Tlascala, and, notwithstanding their dreadful calamities, they were kindly received by their allies, whose fidelity was not at all shaken

by the declining condition of the Spanish power. Notwithstanding all his misfortunes, Cortes did not abandon his plan of conquering the Mexican Empire. He obtained some ammunition and three field pieces from Vera Cruz, and despatched four of the vessels of Narvaez's fleet, to Hispaniola and Jamaica, to obtain ammunition and military stores, and procure adventurers. Sensible that he could do nothing against Mexico without the command of the lake, he set about preparing the timber and other materials for twelve brigantines; which were to be carried by land to the lake in pieces, and there put together and launched. These measures, which disclosed his intentions, occasioned disaffection again to appear among his troops; which, with his usual address, but not without difficulty, he succeeded in suppressing.

Whilst anxiously waiting for the return of his ships, two vessels which had been sent out by Valasquez to re-enforce Narvaez, were decoyed into Vera Cruz, and the hands and troops induced to follow the fortunes of Cortes; and soon after several vessels put in there, and the seamen and soldiers on board, were also persuaded to join the Spanish adventurer, by which means Cortes received a re-enforcement of one hundred and eighty men, and twenty horses. He now dismissed such of Narvaez's men as served with reluctance, after which he mustered five hundred and fifty foot soldiers, and forty horsemen, and possessed a train of nine field pieces. With this force, and ten thousand Tlascalans and other friendly Indians, he set out once more for the conquest of the Mexican Empire. He began his march towards the capital, on the 28th of December, 1520, six months after his disastrous retreat.

Although the Mexicans, aware of his intentions, had made preparations to obstruct his progress, he continued his march without much difficulty, and took possession of Tezeuco, the second town in the empire, situated on the lake, about twenty miles from Mexico. Here he established his head-quarters, as it was the most suitable place to launch his brigantines; and during the delay which that object required, he subjugated a number of towns on the lake, and thus circumscribed the Mexican Empire. At this time, when his prospects were more flattering than they had been at any other, all his hopes were exposed to be blasted, by an alarming conspiracy, which aimed at the life of Cortes himself, and all his principal officers. On the

very day on which it was to have been carried into execution, one of the conspirators went privately to his general and revealed it. Villefragna, the ringleader was seized and executed. The materials for the brigantines being completed, Cortes despatched a detachment of his troops, as a convoy to eight thousand *Tamemes*, an inferior class of men, who were used to bring burdens in the lieu of animals, who had been furnished by the Tlascalans. Fifteen thousand Tlascalan warriors also accompanied them for their defence. This novel and immense convoy arrived safe at Tezeuco; and about the same time the ships returned from Hispaniola, with two hundred troops, eighty horses, two battering cannon, and a supply of ammunition and arms. These events elevated the hopes of Cortes and his followers, and gave increased activity to their exertions. On the 28th of April, all the brigantines were launched, with great ceremony—all the troops, and those of their allies, being drawn up on the banks of the canal, and mass and religious exercises were performed. As they fell into the lake from the canal, Father Olmedo, the chaplain, gave to each its name, and his benediction. The joy of the Spaniards was excessive, and repeated shouts resounded over the still waters of the lake, now for the first time honoured with a fleet, after being for centuries only skimmed by the light canoes of the savage.

As the vessels entered the lake, they hoisted sail, and bore away before the wind; and were viewed by the Spaniards and their Indian allies, with transports of joy, whilst the Mexicans beheld them with astonishment and dismay.

On the death of Montazuma, the Mexican chiefs elevated to the throne Quetlavaca, his brother, whose bravery and hostility to the Spaniards were signalized by those fierce attacks upon their invaders, on their retreat from the capital. Whilst actively engaged in preparing to defend his capital from the second attack of Cortes, he was cut off by the small pox, which fatal disease was then ravaging the empire, and was one of the dreadful calamities brought upon it by the Europeans. He was succeeded by Gautimozin, the nephew and son-in-law of Montazuma; his distinguished reputation for courage, and as a commander, secured him the unanimous support of his countrymen, at this alarming crisis. Although appalled at the formidable aspect of the brigantines, small and clumsy as they were, Gautimozin resolved to hazard an attempt to destroy them.

With a vast multitude of canoes, which covered the whole lake, the Mexicans fearlessly advanced to engage the brigantines, which, in consequence of a dead calm, were scarcely able to move; but, fortunately for the Spaniards, a breeze sprung up, and the vessels spreading sail, broke through and overset the canoes, and dispersed the whole armament without scarcely an effort, and with great slaughter. This action convinced the Mexicans, that the superiority of the Spaniards was greater on the water than on the land, and they made no farther attempt to dispute with them the dominion of the lake. Being master of the lake, Cortes carried on the siege with great activity; he divided his forces and attacked the city in three different quarters, the brigantines being divided into three squadrons to cover the troops at each of the points of attack. For more than a month the siege continued, and was a succession of sharp and obstinate conflicts; during the day, the Spaniards forced their way over all the obstructions which the enemy had interposed on the causeways to stop their progress, and passed the trenches and canals where the bridges were broken down, and sometimes penetrated into the city; but at night, retired to their former positions, as from the small number of their troops they deemed it unsafe to remain within the city, where they might be overwhelmed by the multitude of their foes. During the night, the Mexicans repaired what the Spaniards had destroyed in the course of the day, and the contest was thus continued, with the desperate bravery and perseverance, on both sides, of men determined to conquer or die. At length, Cortes, astonished at the obstinacy of the Mexicans, resolved to attempt, by a great and bold effort, to get possession of the city. He made a general assault at the three points of attack, with his whole force, and pushing on with irresistible impetuosity; they forced their way over one barricade after another, and penetrated into the city. But the officer, ordered to fill up the trenches in the causeways, and to keep the command of the same, to secure a retreat in case it should become necessary, having neglected that duty and joined in the conflict, Gautimozin availing himself of this mistake, suffered the Spaniards to advance into the heart of the town; when the sound of the great drum of the temple, consecrated to the god of war, was heard as a signal for action; the whole population of the city rushed with frantic fury to the scene of strife, and fell on their

invaders with irresistible impetuosity; the Spaniards at first retired slowly and in order; but when they arrived at the breach in the causeway, where the Mexicans had concentrated a large force to intercept their retreat, being pressed on all sides, they were thrown into confusion, and horse and foot, Spaniards and Tlascalans, plunged promiscuously into the gap. The Mexicans, encouraged by success, pressed furiously upon them from all quarters; their canoes covered the lake, and the causeway both before and behind, was blocked up with their warriors. After incredible exertions, the Spaniards forced their way through the multitude of their enemies, with the loss of more than twenty killed, and forty taken prisoners. These last unhappy victims were sacrificed, the following night, to the god of war, as a horrid triumph; the whole city was illuminated, and the Spaniards were filled with grief and horror by the shrieks of their companions, about to be immolated to the diabolical deities of their enemies. The heads of the victims were sent to the different provinces, and exhibited, with a declaration that the god of war, appeased by the blood of their enemies, had declared that in eight days their invaders should be destroyed, and peace restored to the empire. The success of the Mexicans, together with this confident prediction, had a magic effect, and the people flocked in from all quarters, to assist in conquering a hated foe, whom the gods had decreed to destroy. Cortes stationed his troops under the protection of his ships, which kept the enemy at a distance until the eight days had expired; and such was the influence of superstition that most of his allies deserted him; but after the fatal period had elapsed, and the Spaniards still being safe, they were ashamed of their credulity, and returned to their stations.

Although Cortes now found himself in possession of a numerous force of Indians, yet past experience taught him to adopt a new and more safe mode of carrying on the siege. He made slow but gradual advances; his Indian allies repaired the causeways as he advanced, and as the Spaniards got possession of any part of the city, their allies were employed in levelling the houses to the ground. They thus compelled the Mexicans daily to retire, and gradually circumscribed the limits of the town. The immense multitude which had assembled in the city, consumed the supplies of provisions, and they were threatened

with the horrors of famine within, whilst assailed by the enemy from without.

Having the command of the lake, and from the numerous body of his Indian allies, Cortes was enabled to cut off all communication with the city. Three quarters of it was reduced to ashes, when at length the three divisions of the Spaniards penetrated into the great central square, and established a secure position. The fate of the city was now decided, as it was evident that what remained, being assailed from more advantageous stations, could hold out but a short time. At this crisis, the chiefs and nobles prevailed on Gautimozin to retire to the provinces and attempt to arouse the people; and to facilitate his escape they opened a negociation for peace with Cortes; but the latter, too vigilant to be deceived, had given strict orders to watch the lake and suffer no canoes to pass. The officer, to whom this duty was assigned, observing several large canoes crossing the lake with rapidity, ordered a swift-sailing brigantine in pursuit, which, as it neared them, was about firing, when all the rowers in an instant dropped their oars, threw down their arms, and rising up, beseeched them not to fire, as the emperor was on board. Gautimozin surrendered himself, with dignity, and only requested that no insult might be offered to the empress, or his children. When brought into the presence of Cortes, he behaved with a degree of composure and dignity that would have done honour to any monarch on earth. Addressing himself to Cortes, he said, "I have done what became a monarch; I have defended my people to the last extremity. Nothing now remains but to die. Take this dagger," (laying his hand on one which Cortes wore) "plant it in my breast, and put an end to a life which can no longer be of any use." Previous to his leaving the city he had caused all his treasures to be thrown into the lake. The capture of the sovereign terminated the struggle, and the city and the empire fell into the hands of the conquerors. The siege had continued seventy-five days, and was by far the most extraordinary and memorable military effort in the conquest of America. The exertions, bravery, perseverance, and astonishing exploits of Cortes and his followers, are unexampled; yet it is not to be supposed that the Mexican empire, comprising a vast population, in a considerable state of improvement, was conquered by a few hundred Spaniards: its conquest was effected by internal disaffec-

tions and divisions, and the jealousy of its neighbours, who dreaded its power, the oppression of which they had often experienced.

The excessive joy of the Spaniards was changed to murmurs, when they learnt the small amount of treasure which had fallen into their hands; and such was their rage and disappointment, that Cortes was obliged to give way to it, and suffer Gautimozin to be put to the torture to compel him to discover the royal treasures which they supposed he had concealed. And with such dignity and fortitude did he endure the torture, that when the anguish and pain was at its height, and his fellow-sufferer seemed to ask permission to purchase relief by revealing what he knew, the royal victim, with a look of authority and scorn, reproached him for his weakness, by asking, "Am *I* now reposing on a bed of roses?" After this reproof, his fellow-sufferer remained silent, and expired under the torture of men calling themselves Christians. Cortes, ashamed of what he had done, interfered and rescued the royal victim from the hands of his persecutors.

On the 10th of August, 1519, Ferdinand Maggellan sailed from Seville with five ships and two hundred and thirty-four men, on a voyage of discovery. He discovered and entered the spacious bay forming the mouth of the River de la Plata, supposing it to be a strait, or communication leading into the Southern Ocean; and proceeding south he entered the strait that bears his name, and after sailing twenty days in that winding channel, the great Southern Ocean presented itself to his astonished vision, and with tears of joy he returned thanks to Heaven. Pursuing his course towards the north-west, he sailed, for three months and twenty days, without discovering land, and from the uninterrupted course of fair weather, and the favourableness of the winds, he gave that ocean the name of *Pacific*, which it has ever since retained. He discovered numerous islands, and among others the Phillippines. In a quarrel with the natives, at one of these islands, he was unfortunately killed. The expedition, after the death of its commander, discovered the great island of Borneo, and at length arrived at one of the Molucca Isles, to the no small astonishment of the Portuguese, who could not conceive how the Spaniards, by sailing in a westerly direction, had arrived at an island, which they discovered by sailing in a directly opposite course. From this place they sailed

by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and returned home, after a voyage of three years and twenty-eight days, having sailed round the globe for the first time.

The accounts of Cortes' victories and conquests, which were sent to Spain, filled his countrymen with admiration, and excited the highest expectations with the people and the government. Charles V. who had succeeded to the throne, appointed Cortes Captain-General of New Spain; and even before he had received any legal sanction, he assumed the power of governor, and adopted measures to secure the vast country he had conquered to his sovereign, as a colony of Spain. He determined to rebuild the capital, and there to establish the seat of his government; and he commenced the work on an extended plan, and laid the foundations of the most magnificent city in the new world. He caused examinations to be made for mines, opened some, and encouraged his countrymen to settle in the remote provinces.

The Mexicans, conquered and degraded as they were, did not quietly submit to their new masters, but aroused by oppression or despair, they often, with more courage than discretion, rushed to arms, and were not only defeated in every contest, but the Spaniards, regarding these attempts to regain their liberty, as rebellion against their lawful sovereign, put the caziques and nobles, who fell into their hands, to death, and reduced the common people to the most humiliating and degrading servitude. The massacres and cruelties of the Spaniards are almost incredible. "In almost every district of the Mexican empire the progress of the Spanish arms is marked with blood. In the country of Panuco, sixty caziques, or leaders, and four hundred nobles were burnt at one time; and to complete the horror of the scene, the children and relations of the wretched victims were assembled and compelled to be spectators of their dying agonies."* This sanguinary scene was succeeded by another, if possible still more revolting and horrible to the natives. On suspicion, or pretence, that Gautimozin had conspired against the Spanish authority, and excited his former subjects to take up arms, the unhappy monarch, with the caziques of Tezeuco and Tacuba, the two most distinguished personages in the empire, with-

* Robertson.

out even the formality of a trial, were brought to a public and ignominious execution, and hanged on a gibbet, in the presence of their countrymen, who witnessed the scene with indescribable horror, as they had long been accustomed to reverence their sovereign with homage and awe, scarcely less profound than that offered to their gods.

For all his toils and sufferings, his splendid achievements, his extensive conquests, and all the cruelties and crimes he committed for his sovereign, Cortes received the reward which usually attends those who perform great services for their country: he was envied, calumniated, suspected, recalled, deprived of his authority, and of all benefit from his exertions, except the glory of being the conqueror of Mexico, and the oppressor and destroyer of a great and once prosperous and happy nation.

CHAPTER III.

Expedition for the discovery of Peru—The Coast of Chile discovered—The Coast of Peru discovered—Pizarro visits Spain—returns and fits out another expedition for the conquest of the country—The first colony in Peru planted—The Incas of the country—Pizarro marches into the interior and captures the Inca—he offers to fill a room with gold for his ransom—is put to death—The Peruvians determine to expel their invaders—they besiege Cusco—Action between Pizarro and Almagro—Expedition of Gonsalvo Pizarro—the incredible sufferings of his men—Orellana, one of his officers, with fifty men, deserts—sails down the Amazon and enters the Atlantic Ocean—Distress of Gonsalvo—he returns to Quito—Vaca de Castro appointed Governor of Peru—Insurrection among the Spaniards against Pizarro—he is assassinated in his palace—Vela appointed governor—bloody action between him and Gonsalvo Pizarro—Gasca sent from Spain, as governor—his pacific measures—Pizarro refuses to submit—is defeated and beheaded—Gasca returns to Spain.

The success of Cortes, and other Spanish adventurers in America, stimulated the ambition of his countrymen, and gave additional impulse to the spirit of enterprise and discovery, which was the prevailing passion of the day. The discoveries and conquests which had been made, and the settlements that had been established, served both as incentives and facilities to new and bolder enterprises. The settlement at Panama, on the western coast of the Isthmus of Darien, greatly facilitated the plans of adventurers in that quarter, and became, in some measure, the parent of most of the early settlements on the coast of the Southern Ocean. Soon after the conquest of Mexico, about the year 1524, three obscure individuals, residing at Panama, formed a plan for discovering and conquering the rich countries to the eastward of that colony, which had

long attracted the attention of adventurers. These individuals were Francisco Pizarro, the natural son of a Spanish gentleman, a soldier, and one of the early adventurers to the new world; Diego de Almagro, also a soldier, and whose origin was equally humble with that of his associate, one being a bastard and the other a foundling; and Hermando Luque, an ecclesiastic, who was employed in the double capacity of priest and schoolmaster at Panama. The last, by some means not known, had acquired considerable wealth, but his two associates possessed but little; each, however, was to embark his whole fortune in the enterprise, together with all his hopes. The contract between them was solemnized by religious sanctions, although its object was rapine and murder.

With all their means and exertions they were enabled only to fit out one small vessel, with one hundred and twelve men, Pedrarias, the Governor of Panama, having first authorized the expedition. This was commanded by Pizarro, and afterwards Almagro sailed with seventy men more, as a re-enforcement. Such were the men and such the means by which one of the most extensive empires on the globe was to be conquered—an empire, where civilization and the arts had made great progress, and whose government was not only established on divine authority, but its sovereign claimed relationship with the gods, and was venerated by his subjects accordingly.

Their first expedition was productive of little more advantage than the discovery of the opulent country of which they were in pursuit, whose existence had become a matter of doubt, in consequence of the failure of several attempts at discovery. After having touched at various places, and suffered incredible hardships, they discovered the Coast of Chile, and landed at Tacamez, south of the River Emeraulds, where they beheld, with pleasure, a fertile and inviting country, very different from any they had discovered in the Southern Ocean. The country was cultivated and the natives were clad in garments of white cotton stuffs, and adorned with trinkets of gold and silver. Although delighted with these appearances, the adventurers did not presume to invade so populous a country with a handful of men, worn out with hardships and wasted by disease. They stopped at the Island of Gallo, and Almagro returned to Panama to obtain re-enforcements, leaving Pizarro, with part of the men. Pedro de los Rios, having

succeeded Pedrarias, as governor of the colony, and apprehending that the settlement of Panama would be weakened and even exposed, by sending off adventurers in a distant and uncertain enterprise, he prohibited Almagro from raising more recruits, and despatched a vessel to bring back Pizarro and his followers, who were left behind. When the vessel arrived, Pizarro, inflexibly bent on his purposes, peremptorily refused to obey the orders of the governor, and used every persuasion to induce his men to remain with him. He drew a line on the sand with his sword, and informed his followers that those who wished to abandon their leader and the glorious enterprise, would pass over: thirteen only remained to share the fortune of their commander. This small and dauntless band removed to the Island of Gorgona, as being a more safe situation, where they remained for more than five months, constantly tortured with hopes and fears, and suffering every thing, short of death, from an unhealthy climate and the want of provisions. At length a vessel arrived from the governor, to convey them to Panama, which occasioned such excessive joy, such a sudden transition of feeling, that not only his followers, but the crew of the vessel, agreed to follow Pizarro, and, instead of returning to Panama, they bore away to the south-east, and had the good fortune to discover the Coast of Peru. After touching at several places, they landed at Tumbez, situated about three degrees south of the equatorial line; here was a magnificent temple and a palace of the Incas, or sovereigns of the empire. The fertility of the country, the improvements, civilization and wealth of the inhabitants, was now, for the first time, fully unfolded to the view of the Spaniards; the rich stuffs, in which many of the inhabitants were clad, the ornaments of gold and silver, which adorned their persons, and the more massy and splendid ornaments of the precious metals, which enriched their temples, and even the common utensils, composed of gold and silver, attracted their enraptured vision, convinced them that their fondest dreams were realized, and that at last they had discovered the land of Ophir—the country of gold. They feasted their eyes and their hopes on these inviting objects; and gazed until they almost imagined themselves masters of the country and possessed of all the wealth they saw and coveted. But with his small force, Pizarro did not attempt any thing against the country, and contented himself with sailing

along the coast and trading with the inhabitants ; he procured several llamas, vessels of silver and gold, and several curious specimens of their manufactures, to be exhibited as memorials of the opulent country he had discovered and explored. He also brought off two native youths, under the pretence of instructing them in the Castilian language, but with the real intention of employing them as interpreters.

But the flattering accounts which Pizarro gave of the opulence of the country, supported by the specimens he had brought with him, did not change the inflexible resolution of the governor of Panama ; he still refused to authorize or even countenance the scheme of Pizarro and his two associates ; in consequence of which, they determined to apply directly to their sovereign. Having agreed among themselves that Pizarro should be governor, Almagro adelantado, or lieutenant-governor, and Luque bishop of the country they might conquer, Pizarro set sail for Spain, and succeeded beyond the utmost extent of his hopes. He obtained the appointment of captain-general and adelantado of the country he had descovered, described to extend two hundred leagues along the coast south of the river St. Jago ; but his unbounded ambition lead him to grasp every thing for himself, and to disregard the rights of Almagro ; yet as the views of Luque did not interfere with his own, he obtained for him the expected appointment. When Pizarro arrived at Panama he found Almagro so exasperated at his conduct, that he was exerting all his influence to embarrass and frustrate his plans, and at the same time to fit out an expedition himself, on his own account. Alarmed at the consequences of an opposition from one who had been connected with him in the enterprise, Pizarro exerted himself to effect a reconciliation, and by offering to relinquish to Almagro the office of adelantado, a re-union among the confederates was established. The confederates now exerted themselves to fit out an armament for the conquest of the country ; but with all their united efforts, aided by the alluring accounts of the country, three small vessels with one hundred and eight men, was the extent of the force which they could raise, and with this Pizarro did not hesitate to invade an extensive country, filled with people. He landed in the bay of St. Matthew, and advanced towards the south. In the Province of Coaque they plundered the inhabitants of gold and silver to the amount of

thirty thousand pesos, a large portion of which they remitted in one of their vessels to Almagro, at Panama, to enable him to procure recruits; and despatched another vessel to Nicaragua. This display of the riches of the country, and the wealth they had already acquired, had a most happy influence on the cause, and procured several small re-enforcements. Pizarro continued his march along the coast, and met with little resistance from the inhabitants, who, surprised and terrified at the sudden appearance of such formidable invaders, either deserted their habitations and fled, or sued for peace and favour. He proceeded to Tumbez, and from thence to the river Piura, near the mouth of which, at a favourable site, he planted the first colony in Peru, which he called St. Michael.

Peru, at the time it was invaded by Pizarro, was a powerful and extensive empire, being six hundred leagues in length on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, and extending east to the ridge of the Andes, stretching from one extremity of that vast chain to the other. This extensive country, like other parts of America, was originally inhabited by numerous independent tribes of savages, who were in a rude and unimproved state of nature, until, according to their own traditions, two extraordinary personages suddenly appeared on the banks of the Lake Titiaca, who founded the Peruvian Empire. Their names were Manco Capac, and Mama Ocollo, his consort; they were dressed in white cotton garments, were of majestic form and appearance, and claimed to be children of the Sun, and to have been sent by the Beneficent Parent of the human race, who looked down on the miseries of his creatures with pity, to instruct, and impart to them the blessings of peace and civilization.

The dignity and sanctity of these extraordinary individuals, and their knowledge of some of the arts of life, which appeared wonderful to the simple natives, induced many of the wandering tribes to follow them, and submit to their authority. They proceeded to Cusco, and commenced the erection of houses, and thus gradually laid the foundation of a city. Manco Capac instructed the men in agriculture and the useful arts, and introduced the regular laws of society, whilst Mama Ocollo taught the women to spin and weave and other domestic employments. The institutions and laws of Manco, established private property, and the duties of social relations, and provided for the

security of private rights, and the peace of the community. The powers and duties of persons in authority were divided, graduated and defined, and exercised with such uniformity and steadiness, as gave the community the appearance, if not the character of a well regulated State. At first, the territory of Manco Capac extended but about eight leagues around Cusco, his capital; but it was enlarged by him and his successors, from time to time, until it comprized one of the most extensive empires in the world. He and his successors were styled *Incas*, or Lords, and were not only obeyed as sovereigns, but revered as divinities; and according to the principles of legitimacy, as recognized in more civilized nations, the blood was to be kept pure, and all intermarriages with the royal and divine race of the Incas, were prohibited under the severest penalties.

When the Spaniards first visited Peru, the throne was filled by Huanan Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the empire and dynasty. He was a prince equally eminent for his pacific virtues, and military talents. He conquered the kingdom of Quito in the year 1526, and annexed it to his dominions, and married the daughter of the vanquished monarch, by whom he had a son, called Atahualpa. At his death he appointed this son his successor in the kingdom of Quito, and left the rest of his dominions to Huascar, his oldest son, and whose mother was of the royal Inca blood. The latter, feeling the pride of legitimacy, disallowed the title of his half-brother, as he was not of the entire royal blood, and a civil war ensued. This war was prevailing, and had filled the empire with dissensions, when Pizarro landed in the Bay of St. Michael.

Atahualpa, having the command of the army which his father had lead into Quito, took the field with great advantage over his rival; defeated, and took him prisoner and confined him in the tower at Cusco. Pizarro obtained information of these disorders, with great satisfaction, from messengers sent to him by Huascar, to solicit his aid against Atahualpa, whom he represented as a rebel who had usurped the sovereignty, which belonged to himself. The importance of this intelligence being perceived by Pizarro, he immediately put his troops in motion, and without waiting for a re-enforcement, marched into the interior of the country, leaving a small garrison at St. Michael. With little opposition, he penetrated to Caxamalca, the

head-quarters of Atahualpa, who, with astonishing simplicity received him in the most friendly manner. Pizarro, according to the prevailing artifice of his countrymen, pretended that he had come as the ambassador of a very powerful monarch beyond the waters, and that the object of his mission was to assist Atahualpa against his enemies, who wished to deprive him of his crown and dominions. Pizarro took possession of a large court, on one side of which was a palace of the Incas, and on the other a temple of the Sun, which was the divinity of the country. The whole being surrounded by a wall of earth, it afforded a safe and advantageous position for his troops. Pizarro immediately despatched his brother to the camp of Atahualpa to re-assure him of his amicable intentions, and to invite him to an interview. The example of Cortes, strengthened by his own experience in the country, determined him to attempt the same bold measure that had been found so successful in Mexico. The interview was conducted with great ceremony and dignity on the part of the Peruvians: the Inca sitting on a throne, covered with gold and adorned with plumes and precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of four of the principal officers of his household, and was preceded by four hundred men in uniform, and followed by the officers of government, civil and military, accompanied by an immense retinue; and his whole army was drawn out on the plain, amounting to more than thirty thousand men. As the Inca arrived near the Spanish quarters, the chaplain of the expedition addressed him, and explained to him, in Spanish, the mysteries of Christianity, the power of the Pope, and the grant made by his holiness of all the territories and countries of the new world, to the King of Spain, and concluded by requiring the Inca to acknowledge the Christian religion, the authority of the Pope, and submit to the King of Castile as his lawful sovereign; and in case he should be so unreasonable and impious as to refuse to obey this demand, he denounced war against him in the name of his sovereign. Astonished and indignant at this incomprehensible and presumptuous harangue, Atahualpa replied that he was master of his own dominions, and held them as an inheritance from his ancestors, and that he could not perceive how a priest should pretend to dispose of countries which did not belong to him, and of which he must have been ignorant even of the existence; he said he would not re-

nounce the religion of his ancestors, nor relinquish the adoration of the Sun, the immortal divinity of his country, to worship the God of the Spaniards, who was subject to death like mortals. He wished to be informed where the priest had learnt such wonderful things: "In this book," said Father Valverde, reaching to him his breviary. The Inca took it in his hand, and turning over the leaves and raising it to his ear, observed, "this book is silent; it tells me nothing," and threw it on the ground in a contemptuous manner. The monk, turning towards his countrymen in a rage, exclaimed, "To arms, Christians! to arms! the word of God is insulted; avenge this profanation on those impious dogs." Pizarro, who had previously made the necessary arrangements for an attack, waited with impatience during this long conference, being anxious to seize his victim and the rich spoils that lay before his eyes. His orders were instantly given; the martial music struck up, the cannon roared, the musqetry was discharged, the horse galloped fiercely to the charge, and the infantry pressed impetuously forward, sword in hand. Astonished at such infamous treachery, and surprised and terrified at the suddenness of the attack, and the noise and destructive effects of fire arms, the Peruvians were filled with consternation, and fled with the utmost precipitation. The Inca, although the nobility flocked around him in crowds, zealous to defend him, was seized by Pizarro, who, at the head of a chosen band, selected for the purpose, had advanced directly towards him. He was dragged from his throne to the ground, and carried to the Spanish quarters. The fugitives, half frightened out of their senses, not knowing whether their enemies were of the human race, or beings of a superior nature, sent to punish them for their crimes, were pursued in every direction, and immense numbers of them slaughtered, although they did not make the least resistance. More than four thousand Peruvians were slain, and not a single Spaniard, nor one wounded, except Pizarro himself, slightly on the hand, by one of his own men. The plunder was of immense value, and fairly turned the heads of such a band of desperate and indigent adventurers; they spent the night in that extravagant joy which a change of fortune so sudden and important was calculated to produce.

The wretched monarch, removed in an hour from a throne to a prison, almost sunk under a calamity so sudden

and so tremendous : had an earthquake shaken the Andes from its base and swallowed up half his dominions, the calamity could not have appeared more sudden or terrible. He however having discovered that an insatiable thirst for gold was the predominant passion of his oppressors, and apparently their only object in invading his country, began to entertain hopes of recovering his librety—he offered, as a ransom, to fill the apartment in which he was confined, which was twenty-two feet in length and sixteen in breadth, as high as he could reach. Pizarro did not hesitate to accept this tempting offer, and a line was drawn round the walls, to fix more definitely the stipulated height of the chamber. Transported with the idea of obtaining his liberty, Atahualpa sent to Cusco, Quito, and other places, where gold had been collected for adorning the temples and palaces of the Incas, informing his subjects of the terms of his ransom, and ordering all the gold to be conveyed to Caxamalca for that purpose. The Peruvians, accustomed to obey implicitly the mandates of their sovereign, flocked in, from all parts of the empire, loaded with the precious metals, so that in a short period the greater part of the stipulated quantity was produced, and Atahualpa assured Pizarro that the residue would arrive as soon as there was sufficient time to convey it from the remote provinces. But such piles of gold so inflamed the avarice of a needy soldiery, that they could no longer be restrained, and Pizarro was obliged to order the whole melted down and divided among his followers. The captive monarch having performed his part of the contract, now demanded to be set at liberty ; but the perfidious Spanish leader had no such intention ; his only object being to secure the plunder ; and he even meditated taking the life of his credulous captive, at the very time the latter was employed in amassing the treasures for his ransom. Atahualpa was subjected to a mock-trial, condemned to be burnt ; and his last moments were embittered by friar Valverde, who, although he had used his influence to procure his condemnation, and sanctioned the sentence with his own signature, attempted to console him in his awful situation, and to convert him to Christianity. The only argument that had any influence on the trembling victim, was that of mitigating his punishment ; and on the promise of being strangled, instead of consumed by a slow fire, he consented to be

baptized, by the hand of one of his murderers, who exercised the holy functions of priest.

After the death of Atahualpa, Pizarro invested one of his sons with the ensigns of royalty; Manco Capac was also declared sovereign at Cusco, and the governors of many of the provinces assumed independent authority, so that the empire was torn to pieces by intestine dissensions.

The intelligence of the immense wealth, acquired by Pizarro and his followers, which those who had returned had conveyed to Panama, Nicaragua and Guatamala, confirmed by a display of the treasures, produced such an electric effect, that it was with difficulty the governors of those places could restrain their people from abandoning their possessions and embarking for Peru, as adventurers. Numerous re-enforcements arrived from various quarters, which enabled Pizarro to force his way into the heart of the country and take possession of Cusco, the capital of the empire. The gold and silver found here, after all that had been removed, exceeded what had been received as the ransom of Atahualpa.

Whilst the Spanish commander was thus employed, Benalcazar, who had been left in command at St. Michael, having received some re-enforcements, left a garrison at that place, and set out with the rest of the troops under his command for the conquest of Quito. After a long and difficult march, over mountains and rivers, exposed to the fierce attacks of the natives, he entered the city of Quito. The tranquillity of the interior and the arrival of Ferdinand Pizarro, brother of the commander-in-chief, with considerable re-enforcements, induced the latter to march back to the sea coast, where, in the year 1534, he laid the foundation of the city of Lima, distinguished in after times for its wealth and earthquakes, and more recently as the seat of civil war. In the mean time, Almagro set out on an expedition for the conquest of Chile; and several parties were ordered by Pizarro into distant provinces, which had not been subjugated. These various enterprises had reduced the troops at Cusco to a small number. The Peruvians, aware of this circumstance, and being now persuaded that the Spaniards would not voluntarily retire from their country, but intended to establish themselves in it, were at last aroused from their inactivity, and seemed determined to expel their rapacious invaders. Preparations, through the whole empire, were carried on with such secrecy and

despatch, as to elude the utmost vigilance of the Spaniards; and Manco Capac, who was acknowledged by all as sovereign at this time, having made his escape from the Spaniards at Cusco, where he had been detained as a prisoner, the standard of war was immediately raised; troops assembled from all parts of the empire, and according to the Spanish writers of that period, two hundred thousand men laid siege to Cusco, which was defended for nine months by one hundred and seventy Spaniards. A numerous army also invested Lima, and all communication between the two cities was cut off. The Peruvians not only displayed the utmost bravery, but imitating the discipline of their enemies, large bodies were marshalled in regular order; some of their bravest warriors were armed with swords and spears; others appeared with muskets, obtained from the Spaniards, and a few of the boldest, at the head of whom was the Inca himself, were mounted on horses, which they had taken from their invaders, and charged like Spanish cavaliers. All the exertions of the Spanish garrison, directed by the three brothers of the commander-in-chief, and rendered desperate from their situation, could not resist the incessant attacks of the Peruvians; they recovered possession of one half of their capital; and the Spaniards, worn out with uninterrupted service, suffering for the want of provisions, and ignorant as to their brethren in other stations, and the number of their enemies daily increasing, were ready to despair; the stoutest hearts sunk under such accumulated, such appalling difficulties and dangers.

At this hour of darkness, when the lamp of hope emitted but a glimmering ray, Almagro appeared at Cusco. But even this event the Pizarros hardly knew whether to regard as auspicious or calamitous, as they knew not whether he had come as a friend or foe. Whilst in Chile, he had received a patent from the Crown, constituting him Governor of Chile, and defining its limits, which, by his own construction, included the city of Cusco; and being informed of the revolt of the Peruvians, he marched back to prevent the place from falling into the possession of the natives, and also to rescue it from the hands of the Pizarros. Almagro was therefore the enemy of both parties, and both attempted to negociate with him. The Inca, knowing his situation and pretensions, at first attempted to make terms with him; but soon being convinced that no faith could be had with a Spaniard, he fell suddenly upon him, with a

numerous body of his bravest troops. The discipline and good fortune of the Spaniards once more prevailed, and the Peruvians were defeated with an immense slaughter, and their whole army dispersed. Almagro's attention was now directed against the garrison; and having surprised the sentinels, he entered the town by night, surrounded the house where the two Pizarros quartered, and compelled the garrison to surrender at discretion. Francisco Pizarro, having defeated and driven off the Peruvians who invested Lima, sent a detachment of five hundred men to Cusco to the relief of his brothers, in case they had not already fallen into the hands of the Peruvians. On their arrival they were astonished to find an enemy in their own countrymen, which was the first knowledge they had of the events that had occurred at Cusco. After first attempting, without success, to seduce Alvarado, their commander, Almagro, surprised and fell upon them in the night in their camp, took Alvarado and his principal officers prisoners, and completely routed the party.

Pizarro, alarmed for the safety of his two brothers, as well as for the security of his possessions, opened a negotiation with Almagro; and having artfully prolonged the same, for several months, and by deception and perfidy procured the liberation of his brothers, he threw off all disguise, abandoned the negotiation, and prepared to settle the dispute in the field; and seven hundred men, ready to march to Cusco, attested the rapidity of his preparations. The command of these troops he gave to his two brothers, who, anxious for victory, and thirsting for revenge, penetrated through the defiles of one branch of the Andes, and appeared on the plain before Cusco. Almagro had five hundred men, more veteran soldiers, and a greater number of cavalry than his enemy; being worn out by services and fatigues, too great for his advanced age, he was obliged to entrust the command to Orgognez, who, though an officer of much merit, had not the same ascendancy over the troops as their chief, whom they had long been accustomed to follow in the career of victory. Pizarro had a superiority in numbers, and an advantage from two companies armed with muskets, and disciplined to their use. Whilst, countrymen and brethren, who had made common cause in plundering and massacreing the natives, were drawn up in hostile array, and under the same banners, to shed each others blood, the Indians, like distant clouds, covered the

mountains, and viewed with astonishment, but with pleasure, that rapacity and violence of which they had been the victims, about to recoil on the heads of their invaders, and to be inflicted by their own hands. They were prepared to fall on the victorious party, who, exhausted by the contest, might be an easy prey, and thus appropriate the victory to themselves.

The conflict was fierce and tremendous, for "when Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war;" for a considerable time the result was doubtful, but Orgognez having received a dangerous wound, his party was completely routed, he himself slain in cold blood, one hundred and forty killed, and the rest fell into the hands of the victors. Almagro, who had witnessed the action from a litter with the deepest emotions, attempted to escape, but was made a prisoner. After being detained in custody for several months, he was subjected to a mock-trial, and sentenced to death. Cusco was again pillaged, but its rich spoils did not satisfy the rapacity of its conquerors.

Pizarro now considered himself master of the entire country, and parcelled it out among his favourites, with as much justice and propriety, as the Pope had granted the whole to his master. But not being able to satisfy all, and to prevent the consequences of the complaints and the turbulence of his men, he promoted enterprises which employed them at a distance. Valdivia resumed the project of the conquest of Chile, and founded the city of St. Jago. His brother Gonsalvo Pizarro, he appointed to supersede Benalcazar as governor of Quito, and instructed him to examine and conquer the country east of the Andes. At the head of three hundred and fifty men, he forced his way through the defiles and over the elevated ridges of the Andes, where the cold was so excessive, that four thousand Indians, who accompanied him to transport his provisions, all perished; and from their excessive fatigues, the severity of the cold and the want of provisions, the Spaniards themselves, inured to hardships as they were, could scarcely sustain such accumulated evils, such intolerable sufferings. Some of their number fell victims to them. After crossing the mountains, new and unexpected calamities from the climate, awaited them, and scarcely less severe; having escaped the frosts of the mountains, they were now to be destroyed by the rains of the plains. For two months the rain fell incessantly; there was scarcely sufficient fair weather to dry

their clothes. They, however, advanced on until they reached the banks of a river called Coca, or Napo, one of the principal branches of the Maragnon or Amazon. Here they constructed a bark for the purpose of passing rivers, conveying provisions, and exploring the country. Fifty men were put on board, under Orellana, the officer next in authority to Pizarro, and the rapidity of the stream soon carried them ahead of their brethren, who made their way with difficulty by land.

Orellana, imitating the examples which had been furnished him, was no sooner beyond the power of Pizarro, that he considered himself independent, and determined to carry on business on his own account, as a discoverer. He formed the bold scheme of pursuing the course of the Amazon to the ocean, and exploring the vast interior regions of the southern continent. This daring attempt, as bold as it was unjustifiable, he accomplished; committing his frail bark to the guidance of the rapid stream, he penetrated three thousand miles through an unknown region, filled with hostile tribes, and where for unknown ages, the wild beasts and the savage alone had roamed joint tenants of its immense domains. He found his way safely to the ocean, and finally to Spain, where he published a marvellous account of his voyage and discoveries; and among other wonders, gave an account of a nation or community of women, which he visited, having all the heroic virtues of the ancient Amazons; and from the propensity of mankind for the marvellous, this community of Amazons long maintained their existence, after the discoveries made, and the progress of science had dissipated the darkness which gave credit to the narration. Orellana was ordered to wait at the junction of the Napo with the Amazon, for the arrival of Pizarro; and the astonishment and consternation of the latter, when he ascertained the infamous treachery of Oranella, who had basely deprived his brethren of their only resource, and left them to perish in the heart of an immense wilderness, can better be conceived than described. They were twelve hundred miles from Quito, to which place they turned their course; the hardships they had before encountered, now seemed comparatively but small; they were compelled to subsist on berries, and roots; they even devoured their dogs, horses, the most loathsome reptiles, and the leather of their saddles. After the expiration of two years, eighty of the Spaniards only, returned to Quito,

and these were as naked as the savages, and emaciated to skeletons.

But Pizarro found neither repose nor consolation on his return; as the last dregs of his cup of bitterness, he learnt the awful fate of his brother, and the overthrow of his power. The adherents of Almagro and other malecontents, formed a bold conspiracy, surprised and assassinated the governor in his own palace, and proclaimed young Almagro, now arrived at manhood, to be the head of the government, as successor to his father. The shocking dissensions in Peru, being known at the Court of Castile, Vaca de Castro received a royal commission, appointing him Governor of Peru, for the purpose of quieting the existing disturbances, and establishing the authority of the Spanish government. Having landed at Quito, he immediately, and with great energy, adopted measures, to suppress the insurrection, and bring the [illegible]ng conspirators to punishment. He marched towards Cusco, whither Almagro had retired; the hostile parties met at Chupaz, about two hundred miles from Cusco, and both determined to decide the contest at once. The action was bloody and decisive, and characterised by that fierceness, impetuosity and vindictive spirit, which the deadly animosities of both parties, and desperate situation of one, were calculated to inspire; and the slaughter was in proportion to the maddening fury of the combatants. Of fourteen hundred men, the whole number engaged on both sides, more than one thousand lay dead and wounded on the field of battle. Superiority of numbers prevailed, and young Almagro and his party, or all who escaped the sword, fell into the hands of the victors. And although they were countrymen and fellow-christians, the the tender mercies of their conquerors were cruelties; forty were executed as rebels; many were banished, and young Almagro, their leader, was publicly beheaded at Cusco. These events occurred in 1542.

At length, the torch of civil dissension, if not extinguished, ceased to burn; and a short period of repose was restored to a country, whose history hitherto was but a succession of carnage and bloodshed.

But the tranquillity in Peru, was not of long continuance; new regulations having been framed for the government of the Spanish possessions in America, which greatly alarmed the settlers, by depriving them of their oppressive power over the natives, and Nugnez Vela being sent out to Peru

as governor, to enforce them ; the elements of dissension were again brought into action, and the gathering clouds threatened another storm of civil war. The rashness and violence of the new governor, increased the disorders, and spread the disaffection throughout the provinces. The malecontents from all quarters looked to Gonsalvo Pizarro, as their leader and deliverer ; and, having taken the field, he soon found himself at the head of one thousand men, with which he moved towards Lima. But before he arrived there, a revolution had taken place ; the governor and the judges of the Court of Audience, had long been in contention, and finally the latter gaining the ascendancy, seized the governor, and sent him prisoner to a desert island on the coast. Pizarro, finding things in this state of disorder, beheld the supreme authority within his reach, and compelled the judges of the royal audience to appoint him governor and captain-general of Peru. But he had scarcely possessed himself of his usurped authority, before he was called to defend it, against a formidable opponent. Nugnez Vela, the governor, being set at liberty by the officer entrusted with conducting him to Spain, landed at Tumbez, raised the royal standard and resumed his functions as viceroy of the province. Many distinguished individuals declared in his favour, and from the violence of Pizarro's administration, he soon found himself at the head of a considerable force. Pizarro immediately prepared to meet him, and to decide, by the umpirage of the sword, the validity of their respective pretensions. But Vela being inferior in the number of his forces, and unwilling to stake his power and his life on the issue of an engagement, retreated towards Quito, and was pursued with great celerity by Pizarro.

Not being able to defend Quito, the viceroy continued his march into the province of Popayan, where he received so considerable re-enforcements, that he determined to march back to Quito, and decide the contest. Pizarro, confiding in the known bravery of his troops, rejoiced at an opportunity to meet him ; the conflict, as usual, was sharp, fierce, and bloody ; Pizarro was victorious, and the viceroy, who fell covered with wounds, had his head cut off and placed on a gibbet in Quito, whilst the conquerers made a triumphal entry into the city. All opposition to the authority of the victor ceased, and Pizarro now found himself supreme master of Peru, and of the South Sea, as

he possessed a fleet which had captured Panama, and commanded the ocean.

These alarming dissensions gave great concern to the government of Spain, and lead to the appointment of Pedro de la Gasca, with unlimited authority to suppress them and restore tranquillity and the power of the parent country. He came without troops and almost without attendants: his conduct was directly the reverse of Vela, his predecessor; he was truly the minister of peace; it was his object to reclaim, not to subdue; and by his conciliatory conduct, mild and judicious measures, he effected more than he could have done by the sword. Several of Pizarro's officers declared in his favour, and from the contagion of example, and the oblivion which he proclaimed to all past offences, and a promise of redressing grievances, his adherents daily and rapidly increased. Pizarro, as is the case of all usurpers, when their power is in danger, was filled with apprehension and rage. He sent deputies to bribe Gasca, and if that could not be done, to cut him off by assassination, or poison; but his messengers, instead of executing his diabolical orders, joined Gasca themselves. Irritated at the disaffection of his officers and men, he prepared to decide the dispute in the field; and Gasca, perceiving that it would become necessary to employ force, took steps to assemble troops in Peru and collect them from other colonies. Pizarro marched rapidly to Cusco, and attacked Centeno, who had joined Gasca, and although he had but half the number of men, he obtained a signal victory, attended with immense slaughter. This good fortune was probably the cause of his ruin, as it elevated his hopes so high, as inclined him to refuse all terms of accommodation, although Gasca continued to the last, extremely moderate in his demands, and seemed more desirous to reclaim than to conquer. Gasca having tried, without success, every means of avoiding the distressing alternative of imbrueing his hands in the blood of his countrymen, at length, at the head of sixteen hundred men, moved towards Cusco; and Pizarro, with one thousand more experienced veterans, confident of victory, suffered him to advance to within four leagues of the capital, when he marched out, eager to meet him. He chose his ground, drew up his men in line of battle, and the very moment he expected the action to commence, some of his principal officers galloped off and surrendered themselves to the enemy; their example was

followed by others, and this extraordinary conduct spread distrust and amazement from rank to rank ; one company after another threw down their arms, and went over to the royalists. Pizarro, and some of his officers who remained faithful, attempted to stop them by entreaties and threats, but it was all in vain ; they soon found themselves deserted of nearly their whole army. Pizarro fell into the hands of Gasca, and was beheaded the next day ; several of his most distinguished and notorious followers shared the same fate ; Carvajal, at the advanced age of four score, and who had long been accustomed to scenes of carnage and peril, on being informed of his sentence, carelessly replied, " Well, a man can die but once." Gasca, as moderate and just after victory as before, pardoned all the rest, and exerted himself to sooth the feelings of the remaining malecontents ; he simplified the collection of the revenue, re-established the administration of justice, and provided for the protection and bettering the condition of the Indians ; and having accomplished every object of his mission he returned to Spain, in 1549, as poor as he left it, but universally admired for his talents, virtues, and important services. He entrusted the government of Peru to the Court of Audience. For several years after this, the machinations and rapacity of several ambitious chiefs, distracted the Peruvian states with civil contentions ; but at length the authority of Spain was completely and firmly established over the whole of that extensive and valuable portion of America.

CHAPTER IV.

Settlement of the different provinces in America—formed into two grand divisions—Viceroyalty of New Spain and Peru—The Council of Indies established—A new Viceroyalty called Santa Fe de Bogota—Establishment of the Board of Trade of Seville—Policy of Spain in relation to her Colonies—difference between Great Britain and Spain, in this respect—Ecclesiastical establishment in America—Conduct of Missionaries—Inquisition established by Philip II.—Oppressive conduct of the Spaniards towards the natives—their wretched condition—Gold and Silver Mines—Commercial regulations—Revenue derived from the colonies.

THAT part of the southern continent of America, stretching to the eastward of Darien, comprising the provinces of Carthagena and Santa Martha, was discovered by Roderigo de Bastigas, in the year 1520, and was subjugated by Pedro de Heredia, in the year 1532. As early as the year 1544, Carthagena had become a considerable town, and its harbour was the safest and best fortified of any in the Spanish territories in the new world. Its situation is favourable for commerce, and it was selected as the port at which the Spanish galleons should first begin to trade, on their arrival from Europe, and to which they were to return, in order to prepare for their homeward voyage. The province of Venezuela was first visited by Ojeda, in the year 1499, in his voyage of discovery, which has before been noticed. Observing an Indian village, built on piles, to raise it above the stagnant water, the Spaniards, from their propensity to discover resemblances between America and Europe, bestowed on it the name of Venezuela, or Little Venice.

Charles the Fifth, to obtain a large loan of the Velsers of Augsburgh, then the wealthiest merchants in Europe, granted to them the province of Venezuela, to be held as an hereditary fief, on condition that they were to subjugate the natives and plant a colony in the territory. The pre-

prietors sent out some German adventurers, who, instead of establishing a colony, wandered about the country in search of mines and to plunder the natives. In a few years their avarice and rapacity desolated the province, instead of settling it, and the proprietors, despairing of succeeding in the enterprise, relinquished their grant and the occupation of the country, when the Spaniards again took possession of it; but notwithstanding its natural advantages, it long remained one of their most unpromising settlements.

The province, or, as it was called, the new kingdom of Granada, is an interior region, and was subjugated to the authority of Spain, in 1536, by Benalcazar, who invaded it from Quito, where he was in command under Pizarro and Quesada, who attacked it from Santa Martha. The natives being more improved than any in America, except the Peruvians and Mexicans, defended themselves with resolution, bravery and perseverance; but here, as every where else, discipline and science prevailed over barbarian force. The Indians in New Granada, not having been subjected to the same services of working in mines, which have wasted that miserable race in other parts of America, continued more populous in this province than in any other. Gold was found here, not by digging into the bowels of the earth, but mixed with the soil near the surface, on the more elevated tracts. One of the governors of Santa Fe carried to Spain a lump of pure gold, found in this province, of more than three thousand dollars' value.

The provinces of Caraccas and Cumana lie to the eastward of Venezuela, and together with Carthagena and Santa Martha, formed what was anciently called the Kingdom of Terra Ferma, and all are now included in the Republic of Colombia. These two provinces were, for a long period, principally known and distinguished for the cultivation and commerce in the nuts of the cocoa-tree, which, next to those produced in Guatamala, on the South Sea, are the best in America. A paste, formed from the nut or almond of the cocoa-tree, compounded with certain ingredients, constitutes chocolate, the manufacture and use of which the Spaniards first learned from the Mexicans, and being a palatable and wholesome beverage, it soon became introduced into use in Europe, and an important article of commerce.

From the contiguity of the settlements of the Dutch to the Coast of Caraccas, on the Island of Curacoa, and their

superior enterprise in traffic, they engrossed most of the cocoa trade from Caraccas, and Spain itself was obliged to receive the article from foreigners, at an exorbitant price, although the product of their own colonies. To remedy an evil, not more detrimental to the interests than disgraceful to the enterprise of Spain, in the year 1728, Philip the Fifth granted to a company of merchants an entire and exclusive monopoly of the commerce with Caraccas and Cumana. This association, sometimes called the Company of Caraccas, restored to Spain this branch of the commerce of America, greatly extended it, as the consumption of the article increased, and being subjected to proper regulations, to counteract the effects of the monopoly, advanced the growth and progress of the settlement.

Mexico, or new Spain, and Peru, were at first regarded, by the Spaniards, as the most important and valuable portions of America, not so much on account of their fertility, or any geographical superiority, as from the consideration of their being inhabited by people in a higher state of improvement, and consequently affording more gratifying objects for the rapacity of the first adventurers. The number of adventurers which these objects, and the civil contensions which they occasioned, originally drew to these countries, tended to commence their settlement under more favourable auspices than any other colonies enjoyed; the rich mines, afterwards discovered, had a powerful operation to attract enterprise and allure adventurers; and the complete subjugation of the natives, both in Mexico and Peru, and reducing them to a condition of domestic servitude, and apportioning them, together with the lands, among the first adventurers, (whilst in other districts the natives, more wild and ferocious, without fixed habitations, subsisting by hunting, could no otherwise be overcome than by being exterminated or expelled,) were among the causes which continued, for a long period, to promote the growth of Mexico and Peru, and to render them the principal of the Spanish colonies, and which occasioned the other settlements only to be regarded as appendages of one or the other of these, or of little importance. Hence, after the Spanish conquests in America had been so far completed as to justify the establishment on the part of Spain, of regular colonial governments, their whole American dominions were divided into two immense governments, one called the Viceroyalty of New Spain, the other the Viceroyalty of

Peru, the seats of which were Mexico and Lima. The former comprehended all the possessions of Spain in the northern division, or continent, and the latter comprised all her settlements and territories in South America.

New Spain embraced, under the Spaniards, a much more extensive region than the Empire of Mexico, or the dominions of Montazuma and his predecessors; the vast territory called New Navarre, or New Spain, extending to the north and west, and the provinces of Cinalao and Sonora, stretching along the east side of the Gulf of California, and also the Peninsula of California, on the opposite side of the gulf, and the provinces of Yucatan and Honduras, extending from the Bay of Campeachy to beyond Cape Gracias a Dios, were comprised within the territories of New Spain, but did not belong to the Mexican Empire. These countries were mostly visited and subjugated by Spanish adventurers, in the early part of the sixteenth century. The Peninsula of California was discovered by Cortes, in 1536, and was so entirely neglected that for a long period it was not known whether it was an island or a peninsula. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the Jesuits explored it, established it as an important mission, made great progress in civilizing the rude and ferocious natives, and established the same dominion over them that they did over the natives in Paragua. At length the government, growing jealous of the Jesuits, they were expelled from the Spanish dominions, and Joseph Galvez was sent out to examine the province, who gave a favourable account of the country and of the pearl fishery on the coast. He also discovered several mines, apparently valuable.

Honduras, and the Peninsula of Yucatan, attracted attention principally from the valuable dye-woods which they afforded, the logwood-tree being produced in greater abundance there than in any other part of America. After having long exclusively enjoyed the profitable logwood trade, the Spaniards were disturbed in it by some adventurers from Jamaica, who commenced cutting logwood at the cape forming the south-east promontory of Yucatan; then in the Bay of Campeachy, and afterwards in the Bay of Honduras. These encroachments alarmed the Spaniards, and they endeavoured to stop them, by remonstrance, negociation, and by force; but after a contention for half a century, the fortune of war and naval superiority of Britain, enabled her to extort from Spain a reluctant consent to

the existence of a settlement of foreigners in the heart of her own possessions. Mortified, however, at this concession, she attempted to counteract its consequences by encouraging the cutting of logwood on the west coast of Yucatan, where the wood was of superior quality. To promote this object, she permitted the importation of logwood into Spain, without the payment of any duty, by which means this commerce became very flourishing, and that of the English, in the Bay of Honduras, declined. East of Honduras were the provinces of Costa Rica and Veragua, which were much neglected by the Spaniards, as of little value.

The Viceroyalty of Peru, in addition to the Peruvian territories, comprehended Chile, the conquest of which, as we have seen, was first attempted by Almagro and afterwards by Valdivia, both of whom met with a most fierce opposition from the natives, and the latter was defeated and slain; but Villagra, his successor in command, restored victory to the Spanish standard; and finally the district on the sea coast was subdued, the natives continuing masters of the mountainous regions; and for more than two centuries they have kept up hostilities with their Spanish neighbours, almost without interruption, and their hostile incursions greatly retarded the settlement of the most fertile country in America, possessing the most delicious climate in the new or the old world; for, though bordering on the torrid zone, it is exempt both from the extremes of heat and cold, lying, as it were, under the shade of the Andes, which protects it on the east, and being constantly refreshed by the cooling sea breezes from the west. It also possesses many valuable mines; yet with all these advantages, at the end of more than two centuries from its conquest, its whole white population did not exceed eighty thousand; but since the establishment of a direct intercourse with the mother country round Cape Horn, it has realized its natural advantages, and advanced in importance accordingly.

Attached to the Viceroyalty of Peru, were all the vast regions claimed by Spain east of the Andes, watered by the Rio de la Plata, its branches, the Colorado, and other streams emptying into the Atlantic. The River de la Plata and the country bordering on it, was first discovered by Maggellan, in the year 1520. The Spanish territories east of the La Plata comprehending the province of Paragua,

and some other districts, were, for centuries, in a great degree undefined, and a subject of dispute with Portugal. Paragua has been rendered celebrated for the extraordinary missions of the Jesuits, and the authority of Spain over it was never but little more than nominal. The territory west of the De la Plata was divided into the provinces of Buenos Ayres and Tucuman.

The first attempts to subjugate and settle the territory bordering on the La Plata, were attended with unusual difficulties and disasters; after the lapse of more than two centuries there was no settlement of any importance, except that of Buenos Ayres. The province of Tucuman, and most of the country to the south of the La Plata, is a prairie of vast extent, and rich beyond conception; being constantly covered with verdure, it supports an immense number of horses and cattle, which are suffered to go at large, and breed, subsisting without the care or oversight of man. This wonderful facility of raising horses and cattle has afforded a profitable trade with Peru, by supplying them with domestic animals, and likewise a lucrative foreign commerce in hides.

At so early a period as the year 1511, Ferdinand established a tribunal for conducting the affairs of his American settlements, called the Council of the Indies; and in 1524, it was new modeled and improved by Charles V. It possessed jurisdiction over every department of government in Spanish America; framed the laws and regulations respecting the colonies; made all the appointments for America, reserved to the crown; and all officers, from the Viceroys to the lowest, were accountable to the Council of the Indies for their official conduct. The king is always supposed to be present in this council, and its meeting was held where he resides. No law, relative to American affairs, could be adopted without the concurrence of two thirds of the council. All appeals from the decisions of the highest tribunals in America, the Audiencia, or Court of Audience, were made to the Council of the Indies.

The colonial system of Spain over her American dominions, was founded on the principle, that these dominions were vested in the crown, not in the nation; which was assumed on no better authority, than the bull of Pope Alexander VI. bestowing on Ferdinand and Isabella, all the countries which they might discover, west of a given latitude. Hence, the Spanish possessions in America, were

regarded as the personal property of the sovereign. The authority of the original adventurers, commanders and governors, by whom the country was discovered, and subjected to the authority of Spain, were appointed by, and accountable to, the king, and removable by him at pleasure. All grants of lands were made by the sovereign, and if they failed from any cause, they reverted to the crown again. All political and civil power, centered in the king, and was executed by such persons, and in such manner, as the will of the sovereign might suggest, wholly independent, not only of the colonies, but of the Spanish nation. The only civil privilege allowed to the colonists, was strictly municipal, and confined to the regulation of their interior police, and commerce in the cities and towns, for which purpose they made their own local regulations or laws, and appointed town or city magistrates. But this single ray of liberty, must of necessity be tolerated, and has never been extinct in the most despotic states. The Spanish American governments, were not merely despotic like those of Russia or Turkey, but they were a more dangerous kind of despotism, as the absolute power of the sovereign was not exercised by himself, but by deputy. At first, as has been stated, the dominions of the Spanish crown in the new world, were divided for the purpose of government, into two great divisions or viceroyalties, New Spain and Peru. Afterwards, as the country became more settled, the viceroyalty of Santa Fe de Bogota was created, composing the kingdoms of New Granada, Terra Firma, and the province of Quito. A deputy or viceroy was appointed to preside over each of these governments, who was the representative of his sovereign, and possessed all his prerogatives within his jurisdiction. His authority was as supreme as that of his sovereign, over every department of government, civil, military, and criminal. He appointed most of the important officers of his government, and supplied the vacancies occasioned by death of those appointed by the crown. His court was formed on the model of that of Madrid, and displayed an equal and often superior degree of magnificence and state. He had horse and foot guards, a regular household establishment, and all the ensigns and trappings of royalty. His government was formed on the same model as that of Spain, and the tribunals that assisted in its administration, were similar to those of the parent country; the appointments to which, were some-

times made by the viceroy, and at others by the king, but all were subject to the deputy's authority, and amenable to his jurisdiction. The administration of justice was entrusted to tribunals, called *Audiences*, formed on the model of the Spanish court of chancery. One of these courts was established in every province, and consists of a number of judges proportioned to its extent, and the business to be done; they had jurisdiction over both civil and criminal causes. The viceroy is prohibited from interfering with the decisions of these judicial tribunals, and in some instances they may bring his regulations under their review, and present remonstrances, or carry the matter before the king and the council of the Indies, which is the only particular in which there is any intermediate power between him and the people, subject to his authority. On the death of a viceroy, the supreme power rests in the court of audience, and the senior judge, assisted by his associates, exercises all the functions of the vacant office. In addition to the council of the Indies, in which is reposed the supreme power, as to the civil, ecclesiastical, military, and commercial affairs of America, there was established as early as 1501, a board of trade at Seville, called *Casa de la Contractacion*. It takes cognizance of whatever relates to the commercial intercourse with America, regulates the export and import cargoes, and the inspection; the freights of the ships, and the time of the sailing of the fleets, and decides judicially on all matters, both civil and criminal, growing out of the commercial transactions between Spain and her American possessions. The doings and decisions of this board, might be reviewed by the council of the Indies.

The fundamental principle of the Spanish colonial system, was somewhat different from that of Great Britain, as it respected its American dominions; although this difference is more in appearance than in reality, and will be found on examination to depend almost entirely on the different constitutions of the two countries. Great Britain, as well as Spain, regarded the countries in America, discovered by her subjects, as belonging to the crown, rather than to the nation, and all grants and patents were made by the king, without the concurrence of parliament; and the rights and powers of the grantees in the proprietary governments, were also created by the crown. The charter governments were likewise established by the crown, and the rights

and privileges allowed to the colonists, and the prerogatives reserved to the king, were dictated by the will of the sovereign. The authority of parliament, as the organ of the nation, over the colonies, does not at first appear to have been exercised, and although this was afterwards attempted, it was never fully allowed or acquiesced in by the colonies. It was the exercise of this authority that led to the difficulties between the parent state and its colonies, which resulted in a separation. In the colonial governments established by Britain in America, very important civil privileges were allowed to the colonists, but their rights were not equal to those of English subjects at home, and the difference was to the same extent as the authority exercised over them by parliament; the prerogatives of the sovereign being at least as great as it respected his colonial subjects, as at home. The Spanish American colonies possessed no political privileges; their only civil rights were purely municipal; the authority of the crown was absolute in the colonial governments, but not more so than it was in the parent state, and it could hardly have been expected that subjects in distant colonies would have been allowed privileges which were not enjoyed by those at home. As it respects constitutional or political rights, the Spanish colonists had the same as the subjects of Old Spain, yet the exercise of the power of the sovereign being by deputy, and at a great distance, it was much more oppressive, and exposed to greater abuses. As it respects the equality of privileges, between the inhabitants of the colonies and those of the parent country, the Spanish colonists stood on a better footing than the English. If the colonies were absolutely and entirely subject to the government of the parent state, it was not, perhaps, material to them, whether this governing power resided in the crown or jointly in the crown and the nation. In either case *they were slaves.*

But if there was little difference in the principle on which the colonial system of Spain and that of Britain was established, there was still less as to the policy of the two governments, relative to their colonies in America. Both nations regarded their colonies as subordinate to the parent state, and attempted to render them contributary to its interests and prosperity. And this policy, if not as old as the existence of colonies, seems to grow out of the relations which subsist between them and the parent country. What

were regarded as colonies among the Greeks, were only migrations. The original object for which colonies are established is for the benefit of the parent state, in some way or other: to drain off a surpluss or dangerous population, to draw a direct tribute from them under some form of taxation, or for the interests of commerce.

It was the policy of the Spanish sovereigns, or government, as to their American colonies, to render them, in every way that could be done, *contributary* to the power and prosperity of Spain. In the grants of the country, made to the first adventurers, Spanish monarchs reserved one-fifth of the gold and silver that might be obtained, and for a considerable period the precious metals were the only objects that attracted attention, either in the colonies or old Spain. The right of the sovereign to a share of the products of the mines, was ever after maintained, and it was the intention of Spain to confine the industry of the colonies to mining, as much as possible, for two reasons: one the revenue derived to the crown from this source, and the other to prevent such branches of agriculture as might interfere with the products of Spain. The cultivation of the vine and olive were at first prohibited in America, and afterwards allowed in the provinces of Peru and Chile, in consequence of the difficulty of conveying such bulky articles as wine and oil across the isthmus to Panama; and these colonies were not permitted to export the products of the vine or olive to any other parts of Spanish America which could obtain them from Spain. The same jealousy crippled the industry of the colonies in other departments; several kinds of manufactures were prohibited, which it was thought might prove detrimental to the mother country. The commercial restrictions imposed on the colonies were still more rigid and intolerable. In pursuance of the maxim that the colonies were, in every possible way, to be rendered contributary to the interests of Spain, without regarding their own, they were denied all commerce with every other portion of the world; their own productions must all be carried to Spain, in the first instance, wherever might be the place of their consumption, and all their own wants must be supplied by the parent state; and even this direct commerce they were not permitted to carry on themselves; no vessel, owned in the colonies, was ever allowed to carry to Europe the produce of the country to which it belonged. All the trade with the colonies was carried on

in Spanish bottoms, and under such regulations as subjected them to great inconvenience. Not only was every species of commerce with America, by foreigners, prohibited under the severest penalties, and confiscation and death inflicted on the inhabitants who had the temerity to trade with them, but no foreigner was suffered to enter the colonies without express permission. Even the commerce of one colony with another was either prohibited or trammeled with intolerable restrictions.

Thus was Spanish America shut up from the world, crippled in its growth, kept in leading-strings, and in a perpetual state of minority; and whilst chastised with the lash of a jealous and unfeeling master, was insulted by being reminded of his parental affection and relationship. These impolitic and unjust measures, founded in a spirit of selfishness and jealousy, together with the hardships which attend the planting of new settlements, so checked the spirit of emigration, that at the expiration of sixty years from the first discovery of America, the number of Spaniards, in all their settlements, did not exceed fifteen thousand.

An ecclesiastical establishment was instituted in Spanish America, as an auxiliary branch of the government, on a similar model to that in Spain, and was extremely burdensome to a young and growing state. At so early a period as the year 1501, the payment of tithes was required, and laws made to enforce it. The exactions of the clergy were extended not only to every article of produce, but also to those which comprised a portion of manufacturing industry, such as sugar, indigo, and cochineal; and these legal burdens were greatly increased by the bigotry of the colonists and their fondness for external parade and pomp in religion, which made them easy dupes of the clergy, who drained their wealth from productive branches of industry, to endow churches and monasteries. Pope Julian Second conferred on Ferdinand and his successors the patronage and disposal of all ecclesiastical benefices in America, so that the Spanish sovereign became the head of the church in America, and the administrator of its revenues, a prerogative which he did not possess at home. The bulls of the Roman Pontiff could not be admitted into Spanish America until they had been examined and approved by the king and the Council of the Indies. The hierarchy was as imposing as in Spain, and its dominion and influ-

ence greater; the arch-bishops, bishops, and other dignitaries, enjoyed large revenues, and the ecclesiastical establishment was splendid and magnificent. The lower orders of the clergy consisted of the curates, or parish priests, the *Doctrineros*, who have the charge of such districts as are inhabited by Indians, who are subject to the Spanish government, and the *Missioneras*, or missionaries, who are employed in converting the *Indios Bravos*, or fierce tribes. An inconsiderate zeal for the establishment of monasteries was disclosed at an early period, and from the influence of the regular ecclesiastics, these institutions were multiplied to a pernicious extent, in a new country, where every encouragement ought to be afforded to the increase of population.

Most of the clergy in America were regulars, and many of the highest honours and most lucrative preferments were in their possession. Great numbers came out as missionaries, and most of them in quest of liberty, wealth, or distinction. To certain orders of missionaries, the Pope allowed the privileges of accepting parochial charges and receiving the emoluments, without depending on the bishop of the diocese, or being amenable to him. Some of them, in violation of their monastic vows, openly engaged in commercial pursuits; others amassed wealth by oppressing the natives, whom they pretended to instruct and Christianize; and notwithstanding their vow of continency, many of them were dissolute and licentious, in a degree almost exceeding belief.

The success of the missionaries, in converting the natives, was almost entirely deceptive; they made use of the same unjustifiable means that have been resorted to by the Jesuits in other parts of the world, and with like success. To render the new religion more palatable, and to introduce it with greater facility, they pretended that there was a similarity between the doctrines and mysteries of Christianity and the crude notions of their own barbarous superstitions. Being, in many instances, overawed by the power of their conquerors, and excited by the example of their chiefs, multitudes expressed a reluctant consent to embrace a religion of which they were entirely ignorant, and were instantly baptized by the missionaries. By such means as these, by fraud and force, in the course of a few years after the reduction of the Mexican Empire, more than four millions of the natives were baptized; but they

remained the same, or at least no better, for such spurious conversion ; they were not only entirely ignorant of the doctrines and duties of Christianity, but retained all their veneration for their ancient superstitions. This mixture of Christianity with their own superstitions and rites, was transmitted to their posterity, and has never been eradicated. One ecclesiastic baptized, in one day, five thousand Mexicans, and stopped only when he had become so exhausted as to be unable to lift his hands. Other missionaries, less successful, declared that the natives were too little removed above the brutes to become Christians ; and a council was held at Lima, which decreed that they had not sufficient understanding to be admitted to the Sacrament of the Eucharist. This decree was abrogated by Paul the Third, who, in 1537, promulged a decree declaring them *rational creatures*, and entitled to the privileges of Christians. That infernal engine of hierarchal power, the Inquisition, was established in America, by the pious zeal of Philip Second, in the year 1570. The natives, from their incapacity, were exempted from the jurisdiction of this horrid tribunal.

If the Spaniards rendered little benefit to the natives by their attempts to Christianize them, their conduct towards them, in other respects, was severe and oppressive in the extreme.

The views of the Spaniards, with respect to the natives, was entirely different from those of the English, in the American colonies. In the latter, the natives were either induced peaceably to cede their lands and retire farther into the interior of the continent, or from the successive hostilities which arose, were exterminated or dispersed. As the European settlements extended, the natives, who had for ages been "lords of the soil," gradually retired, disposed of their lands, or had them wrested from them by war, and sought new abodes, where, depending on the chase, they might obtain an easier subsistence. They melted away before the sun of civilization like the dew of the morning, without leaving any of their number behind, or scarcely a trace of their former existence. Not only thousands of individuals, but whole tribes or nations, might say with Logan, the Mingo Chief, "not a drop of our blood flows in the veins of any living creature," inhabiting the land of our fathers. The English colonists did not originally claim the country on the ground of conquest ; and in the subse-

quent wars that arose, although the natives were defeated and scattered, they were not subjugated; they were too fierce and warlike to submit their necks to the yoke of the conquerors, and become their vassals. As they subsisted by hunting, had no towns, nor any interest in the soil, there was little that attached them to their country, and less that obstructed their migration. The conquests made, were only of the country, not of its inhabitants. But the discoverers and conquerors of Spanish America, claimed the country on the ground of conquest; and as the natives, particularly in Mexico and Peru, lived in villages and towns, subsisted by agriculture, and had acquired private property in the soil, and were very populous, it was difficult if not impossible for them to migrate; and from the modes of civilized life, and of living in fixed habitations which had been established, they could not at once revert back to the savage state, and trust to the precarious subsistence of the chase. The Spanish adventurers not only conquered the country, but subjugated its inhabitants, particularly in Mexico and Peru, and extending the same right of conquest to both, they reduced the natives to a state of servitude. As early as the year 1499, Columbus, to avoid the consequences of a disaffection among his followers, granted lands, and distributed a certain number of Indians among them, who were required to cultivate a certain quantity of ground each, for their masters. This was the origin of the *repartimientas*, or distribution of Indians, which was afterwards introduced into all the Spanish settlements, and was the fruitful source of innumerable calamities, which wasted that unhappy and injured people. Every where they were seized upon and compelled to follow the armies to carry their baggage, to work in the mines, to cultivate the earth, to carry burdens for the want of domestic animals, and to perform all menial and laborious services. Whether employed in the mines, in agriculture, or other situations, they were required to perform stated tasks much beyond their abilities, and being unaccustomed to regular labour, thousands sunk under the accumulated burdens and hardships to which they were subjected by their unfeeling and rapacious masters. Their native spirit was broken, they became humbled and degraded, and the race was rapidly wasting away. Their oppressions and sufferings at length excited the sympathies of many humane persons, particularly among the clergy,

who exerted themselves with much zeal and perseverance to ameliorate the condition of the Indians. These efforts at length prevailed, and in the year 1542, Charles the Fifth abolished the repartimientas, and all the rights which the Spanish colonists claimed in the natives as domestic slaves, and restored them to the privileges of freemen and subjects. These just regulations filled the colonies with consternation, and in Peru they were resisted by force. But the rights of the natives were more apparent than real; for their condition was only changed from that of slaves of individuals, to that of vassals of the crown. It was claimed that as members of the state, they must contribute something towards its support; and accordingly a tax was imposed on every male from eighteen to fifty, consisting of personal service, and the extent and time of performing the same was accurately defined. This capitation tax, or tribute, has varied in different provinces, and at different periods; but in the eighteenth century was usually four shillings sterling per annum; and, previous to the late political revolution, it was ten francs. They pay, besides, certain fees to the clergy for baptism, certificates of marriage, interments, masses, &c. Among the regulations adopted for the benefit of the Indians, was what was called the *encomiendas*, by which they were granted to certain great landholders, as their proprietors and protectors, not as slaves according to the repartimientas, but on such principles as recognized certain rights in the Indians. This measure, like most others in America, was so abused, that though intended for the protection of the natives, it became a fertile cause of increasing their miseries. After the adoption of this system, every Indian under the dominion of Spain, was either the immediate vassal of the crown, or of some subject who was the owner of the encomienda, or the district in which he resided.

The services required of the Indians were of two kinds, employment in agriculture and other branches of necessary industry, and labour in the mines. They were divided into classes called *mitas*, and called into service by turns at regular periods, and served a definite time. The employment in the mines, extracting ore from the bowels of the earth at a vast depth, and conveying it to the surface, and the successive processes of refining it, are not only extremely laborious, but very unwholesome, and have wasted thousands of this degraded and wretched race.

The condition of the Indians became worse and worse until the eighteenth century, when many of the original proprietors of the encomiendas, and their descendants, being extinct, the grants were not renewed, which relieved them from this species of bondage.

Charles the Third was their benefactor, and annulled what remained of the encomiendas, and suppressed the corregidors who supplied them with various articles at exorbitant prices, and thus reduced them nearly to slavery, by making them their debtors. But the establishment of intendencies, during the ministry of Count de Galvez, in the eighteenth century, for the superintendance and protection of the Indians, was the most efficacious measure adopted for ameliorating the condition of the natives; and by an active and energetic administration, the most happy results were produced to this much injured race, who, after being robbed of their country for three centuries, like the Israelites in Egypt, have been compelled to groan under the burdens of hard task-masters. They were still deprived of all the important rights of citizens, and considered as minors, under the tutelage of their superiors, and could make no contract beyond the value of ten pounds. They were prohibited from intermarrying with the whites, from engaging in any commercial transactions, and no other situations or employments were open to them but those of common labourers or artisans. Those who live in the large towns, are governed by Spanish laws and magistrates, but the greater part of them are shut up in villages of their own, and governed by petty Indian magistrates, who are either descendants of the ancient caziques, or lords, or appointed by the Spanish authorities; and in either case, they find it for their interest to perpetuate the ignorance and barbarism of their countrymen; or are too stupid and ignorant themselves to perceive the advantages of civilizing and improving them.

In considering the condition and wretchedness of the Indians in Spanish America, we have not noticed all the consequences or evils which followed the subjugation of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, and which were avoided in the English colonies in the new world. The existence of various castes, or mixed races, which now constitute so large a portion of the whole population of the country, is a consequence of the subjugation of the natives. The whole population of the Spanish colonies is divided

into classes; the natives of old Spain settled in America, are denominated *Chapetones*, or gachupines; they claim the first rank, and and engross most of the places of power and profit, merely on account of their birth; the descendants of European Spaniards in the colonies, are called *Creoles*, and, although they legally enjoy the same civil rights as the natives of old Spain, they are treated as a distinct and subordinate class, and entirely excluded from all situations of any importance. Of the mixtures, the *Mestizos* are the descendants of a white and an Indian; the descendants of an Indian and Negro, are called *Zembos*, and these castes produce other mixtures, of different shades of colour and degrees of blood, too various to be divided into distinct classes.

Notwithstanding the avidity for gold of the first adventurers, and the ardour with which they pursued their researches for the hidden treasures, their exertions were attended with little success for a great number of years. It was not until 1545, that the rich mines of Potosi, in Peru, were accidentally discovered by an Indian, in clambering up the mountain; and this event was soon followed by the discovery of the mines of Zacatecas, in Mexico. Numerous mines of gold and silver were afterwards discovered at different times, in most of the provinces. For a long period the working of the various mines, formed the principal employment of the American Spaniards; all other pursuits being subordinate, if not contributary to this. And such was the exhuberant profusion with which the mountains of the new world poured forth their treasures, that down to the middle of the eighteenth century, according to calculations deemed moderate, a quantity of the precious metals had been carried to Spain, equal to four millions sterling, annually, from the first discovery of the country. This product, great as it was, is small, compared with the quantity which the more extensive operations of the present century have afforded. The products of the mines have been constantly increasing for more than a century, and in Mexico, within that period, have increased more than six fold. The produce of the whole silver mines in Mexico, previous to the revolution, was two millions five hundred thousand marks of silver, ten times more than all the mines in Europe afforded; and the gold mines produced about seven hundred marks of gold, equal to the produce of all the mines in Europe. During ten years, from 1690

to 1699, the gold and silver coined at the Mexican mint was of the value of nearly forty-three millions of piasters; and the amount coined for ten years, from 1790 to 1799, one century after, exceeded two hundred and thirty-one millions. The mines were not worked by the crown, but, although attended with immense expense, were carried on by individual enterprise. To encourage adventures in mining, the person discovering a mine was entitled to the property in it, provided he would work it within a given period. The discoverer presents his claim to the governor of the province, and if allowed, a grant of land is made to him round the mine, and a number of Indians allotted him, for working the mine; but he must prosecute the business within the time specified, and pay the customary proportion to the crown.

The direct pursuit of the precious metals, is the most facinating of all employments, stimulated by avarice; and so irresistible and bewitching is its influence, that, like the charm of the rattle-snake, it seemed to turn the heads and change the natural disposition of those who became the victims of its power. Like the passion for deep gambling, it took such entire possession of the mind, that when a person once engaged in this seducing pursuit, visions of imaginary wealth were constantly before his eyes; whether sleeping or awake, he dreams of mountains of gold; and having once entered the enchanting path, he cannot return, but is led along, as if by an ignis-fatuus, to the realization of his dreams, or to ruin. The prevalence of such a spirit as this, produced a vortex in the public mind, which swallowed up every other interest, or pursuit, diverted industry from its natural channels, and occasioned the neglect of agriculture and manufactures, except so far as they were dependent on, and auxiliary to, this prevailing pursuit.

But notwithstanding the engrossing influence of mining, other interests, entirely disconnected therewith, were not wholly neglected, but afforded, in the different provinces, various important articles of exportation. Cochineal, a valuable drug, and important article of commerce, composed of a curious insect, was attended with profit in New Spain; quinquina, or Jesuits' bark, the most valuable restorative the three kingdoms of nature produce, afforded a lucrative branch of commerce in Peru, and indigo and cocoa were produced in large quantities, and were important articles of exportation in Guatamala. In Buenos Ayres, hides

formed an important staple, and afforded a profitable branch of commerce. Horses and neat cattle, introduced from Europe, increased with astonishing rapidity, and ranging over the vast prairies, lying between the La Plata and the Andes, covered at all times with the richest verdure, they multiplied to an extent almost incredible. They are often seen in droves of thirty or forty thousand, covering the boundless plain farther than the eye could reach.

During the reign of Charles the Fifth, when the power of Spain was at its height, her manufactures and commerce were extensive and flourishing; and both received a great and favourable impulse, in consequence of the new market which was opened in America. Her manufactures were sufficient to supply the growing demand of her colonies, in addition to satisfying that at home. Her commerce was equally flourishing; at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Spain had more than one thousand merchant vessels, a number far exceeding that possessed by any nation in Europe. From the destructive foreign wars of Philip Second, and the stupid bigotry of his successor, Philip Third, who expelled the Moors from his kingdom, amounting to a million of the most industrious of his subjects, Spain became drained of its inhabitants, so that early in the seventeenth century, her manufactures and commerce began to decay; men could not be recruited to keep up her fleets and armies; her extensive foreign commerce was lost, and even agriculture began to be neglected. The great emigration to the colonies, still farther drained off the population, and the immense wealth which the colonies poured into the parent state, intoxicated the inhabitants, as well as the sovereign, and led them to desert the paths of industry to which they had been accustomed. Thus, at a time when the population and wants of the colonies were daily augmenting, the means of Spain to supply them had decreased in a much greater ratio. She was obliged to have recourse to her neighbours, and to supply her colonies with the manufactures of Holland, England, France and Italy. She was still, however, as firmly bent on maintaining the entire monopoly of the colonial trade, although it was apparent that foreigners now derived the principal benefit from it. Nineteen-twentieths of the commodities exported to her colonies, were foreign fabrics, which were paid for by the products of the mines, received in return, so that the precious metals no sooner entered Spain, than

they passed away into the hands of foreigners, and the country was left without sufficient for a circulating medium.

Although wholly unable to supply the wants of her colonies, Spain did not relax in the smallest degree the rigour of her colonial system; the principle of which, was that the whole commerce with the colonies should be in the hands, and under the direction of the crown, a monopoly similar to that of an exclusive company. The regulation of this commerce was entrusted to the Casa de Contratacion, or board of trade established at Seville. This board granted a licence to any vessel bound to America, and inspected its cargo. From these regulations, the entire commerce with the colonies centered in Seville, and continued there until 1720. It was carried on in a uniform manner for more than two centuries. The system was, that a fleet with a strong convoy, sailed annually to America; this consisted of two squadrons or divisions, one called the *Galleons*, the other the *Flota*. They sailed from Seville until the year 1720, and after that principally from Cadiz, until 1778, when fourteen other ports were opened to the trade with the colonies. The galleons destined to Terra Firma, Peru and Chile, first touched at Carthagena, where not only that province, but also those of Caracas, Santa Martha, New Grenada, and others were to be supplied. From Carthagena the fleet proceeded to Porto Bello, which was the mart of all the rich commerce of Peru and Chile. Previous to the time the galleons were expected, the products of the mines, and such articles of produce as Peru and Chile afforded for exportation, were annually conveyed by sea to Panama, and from thence across the isthmus, to Porto Bello, part of the way on mules, and part down the river Chagre. After the arrival of the fleet of galleons, and the merchants from Peru and the other provinces, Porto Bello, a paltry and unwholsome village, consisting of negro huts and a small garrison, immediately assumed a new appearance; its store-houses were filled with merchandise, and its streets crowded with opulent merchants, drawn from distant provinces. A fair was opened that continued for forty days, during which, the most extensive commercial transactions took place, and the rich cargoes of the galleons were all marketed, and the specie and staples of the colonies, received in payment and carried back to Spain. The flota, or other squadron, directed its course to Vera Cruz, and supplied New Spain

and all the provinces that belonged to that Viceroyalty. The treasures of the mines and products of the country, were first deposited at Puebla de los Angeles, and on the arrival of the flota, were carried to Vera Cruz, where the exchange was conducted in the same manner as at Porto Bello. Both squadrons having taken in their return cargoes, rendezvous at Havanna, and sail from thence to Europe in company.

Such was the stinted, fettered, and restricted commerce which subsisted between Spain and her colonies, for more than two centuries and a half; and such were the swadling clothes which bound the youthful and vigorous limbs of the colonies, calculated to retard their growth and keep them always in a state of dependence and minority. They were not permitted to act for themselves in the most common and necessary concerns; but must wear such apparel, and consume such meats and drinks as parental authority see fit to allow them. This restricted and contemptible commercial system, was scarcely less injurious to Spain than to her colonies. The naval superiority of the English and Dutch, enabled them to cut off all intercourse between Spain and her colonies, which exposed the colonies to suffer for the want of the necessaries of life, and introduced an extensive smuggling trade. It also compelled the Spanish monarch so far to relax the rigour of his system as to permit France, then his ally, to open a trade with Peru; the French carried such quantities of goods there, that they found their way into all the Spanish provinces. This trade being carried on directly, threatened the destruction of the trade from Spain, and it was therefore prohibited.

By the treaty of Utrecht, Great Britain obtained a concession, which secured to her a foot-hold for commercial purposes in the Spanish colonies in America. Philip Fifth transferred to Britain, with the consent of France, the privilege or contract, which the latter had enjoyed, of supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, and the more dangerous right of sending, annually, one ship of five hundred tons, to the fair at Porto Bello. This lead to the establishment of British factories at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other places. The residence of the agents and merchants of a rival power, in the most important towns, drew aside the veil which had hitherto concealed from the world the interior condition of the

Spanish colonies, and excited a spirit of commercial cupidity, which led to an extensive contraband trade. This, at first, was carried on principally from Jamaica and other British colonies. As might have been foreseen, the privilege granted to the British was at once abused and greatly extended. Instead of a ship of five, one of nine hundred tons was sent to Porto Bello; and this was accompanied with several smaller vessels, which moored in some neighbouring creek, and clandestinely conveyed their cargoes to the principal ship. The inspectors of the fair, blinded by presents, remained ignorant of these frauds. From the intrinsic defects of the Spanish colonial system, and the weakness of granting the privileges spoken of, to the most enterprising commercial nation in the world, the commerce carried on in the galleons, so long the pride of Spain, and even the envy of other nations, was almost annihilated, before the middle of the eighteenth century.

Alarmed at the extent and pernicious consequences of the contraband trade, Spain stationed ships of war along the coast most exposed to this illicit traffic, to suppress it. These were called *Guarda Costas:* they checked the smuggling trade to a considerable degree, which led to complaints, on the part of Great Britain, and finally to war, on the claim of some outrages committed by the Guarda Costa. Spain, however, obtained a release from the *Assiento*, or privilege granted to England, and was once more at liberty to manage her commerce with her colonies in her own way, without restraint. The contraband trade, however, continued, the Dutch and French engaged in it, as well as the English; and to such an extent was it carried that sometimes, when the galleons arrived, the markets were glutted, and their cargoes could scarcely be disposed of. The galleons were prevented from sailing by wars, and often retarded by various accidents, and this occasioned a new regulation, by which commerce with the colonies was carried on by *register ships*, fitted out during the intervals of the sailing of the fleets. The advantages of this commerce were so apparent, that in the year 1748 the galleons were no longer employed, and the trade with Peru and Chile was prosecuted in a direct route, round Cape Horn, in single ships. Still the register ships were all obliged to take their departure from Cadiz, and to return to that port.

The Dutch, from the vicinity of their settlement at Curacoa, to Caraccas, having engrossed a considerable part of

the cocoa trade of that province, Spain, in 1728, granted, to a company of merchants, an exclusive monopoly of the trade with Caraccas and Cumana; and both the parent state and the colonies derived great benefit from the commercial enterprise of this company.

From the want of more frequent intercourse between Spain and her colonies, it often happened that important events, which occurred in the latter, were known for some time, by foreign nations, before intelligence of them had reached Spain. To remedy this evil, in 1764, a system of packets was established, to be despatched, on the first day of every month, to Havanna; from whence letters were sent to Vera Cruz, Porto Bello, and so transmitted throughout the Spanish settlements. The packet-boats also sailed, once a month, to Buenos Ayres, to accommodate the settlements east of the Andes. Objects of commerce connected themselves with this arrangement; the packets were vessels of considerable burden, and carried out goods and brought back a return cargo in the productions of the colonies.

The way being in some degree prepared, the following year, 1765, Charles the Third abrogated the restrictions on the trade to Cuba, and other islands to the windward, leaving it open to all his subjects, with no other restriction but that of their sailing to particular ports in each island. The beneficial effects, both to old Spain and the colonies, resulting from a relaxation of the ancient laws, being sensibly felt, one relaxation proved the necessity of another, and in 1778 the monopoly was still farther done away; and the colonial trade, which had been confined to Cadiz and Seville, for two and a half centuries, was permitted to be carried on in fourteen other Spanish sea-ports, which produced a most important and favourable change, both to the colonies and the revenue of Spain.

The restrictions upon the internal intercourse and commerce of the Spanish colonies, were, if possible, more grievous and pernicious in their consequences, than those on the intercourse with Spain. From their first settlement, all intercourse was prohibited, under the severest penalties, between the different provinces in the South Sea. Peru, Chile, New Spain, New Granada, and Guatamala, were cruelly inhibited from all commerce and from all intercourse, whatsoever, with each other, which would so obviously have promoted their mutual comfort, prosperity and

advancement. At length, in 1774, Charles the Third removed this severe and infamous restriction, and opened a free trade between these provinces.

In noticing the commerce of the Spanish colonies, that from Manilla requires our attention. Philip Second established a colony on the Phillippine Islands. The armament was fitted out from New Spain, and the station, selected for a town, was called Manilla, on the Island of Luconia. This settlement soon engaged in active commercial intercourse with China, which occasioned a number of the Chinese to emigrate to the colony, for the purposes of commerce, and the prospects of gain. They not only supplied the colony with the manufactures of the East, but introduced such quantities as enabled it to open a trade with America. At first, this trade, which was attended by the longest course of navigation of any in the world, was confined to Callao, on the Coast of Peru, but subsequently it was transferred to Acapulco, on the western coast of New Spain. It finally acquired regularity and system, and became an important branch of the commerce of the Spanish colonies. It supplied them with the merchandise of China and the East Indies, in exchange for their precious metals, and the produce of America. A single galleon, of from twelve to fifteen hundred tons, sailed from Manilla about the first of July, with the south-west monsoon, and generally arrived at Acapulco in three months, with a cargo that often amounted to two millions of dollars, although by law it was limited to half a million. In February or March she returns, and taking advantage of the trade winds, accomplishes the voyage in fifty or sixty days. And at a later period, a galleon has also been despatched from Manilla to Lima, a longer and more difficult voyage, as it must first discover the Coast of Mexico, and then steer southward to Peru, a navigation extremely difficult and tedious. What is most remarkable, this commerce was suffered to be carried on, in direct contravention of the fundamental principle of the colonial system of Spain, which held the colonies entirely dependent on the mother country. It seems to have grown up, gradually, until it became so important, and so great a part of the population became interested in it, that it could not be suppressed.

Spain received a considerable revenue from her colonies, notwithstanding the extensive contraband trade which, at some periods, even in time of peace, amounted to one-

third of the whole commerce of the colonies, and other frauds practiced on the revenue. The revenue consisted of three branches; the first that which was paid to the king, as lord-paramount, or sovereign of the country; the second, what accrued to him as head of the church; and the third, imposts, or duties on commerce. The first comprised the customary, or share, received by the crown, of the product of the mines, called the right of seigniory, and the tribute paid by the Indians, called the duty of vassalage. As head of the church, and administrator of its funds, the king received various spiritual revenues,—the first fruits, spoils, and the receipts from the sale of the Bull of Cruzado. This bull was promulged by the Pope every second year, containing an absolution from past offences and granting certain immunities, such as eating prohibited food, during lent, and the like. The monks, employed in distributing these bulls, extolled their virtues with all that zeal and eloquence which interest usually inspires, and which was always found wonderfully efficacious. The ignorant were led to regard it as essential to their salvation at the rate set on it by government, and by such fraudulent means a universal tax was levied on the credulity and bigotry of a whole nation. The morals of the people were thus bartered away by the government, which ought to have been their guardian and protector, for a mess of pottage, a paltry tax. The duties on merchandise were numerous and oppressive, and clogged and embarrassed every commercial transaction, from the wholesale merchant to the petty retail vender. Great discrimination was made between the duties on the manufactures of Spain and those on the productions of foreign countries. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, the revenue raised by Spain, in America, was estimated at a million and a half sterling. This, however, was only the *direct* revenue, raised in the colonies, and did not include the duties levied in Old Spain, on all the exports to her colonies, and some other branches of revenue.

If the revenue was great, the expenses of the colonial government were equally so, and were wholly defrayed by the crown. The Spanish colonial system was not confined to civil government, but embraced commerce, religion, finance, and a military establishment; all of which were under the authority and management of the crown. It was also complex, in an extreme degree, in each department; consequently was encumbered with such a number

and variety of offices, tribunals, and boards, as not only occasioned an enormous expense, but rendered it unwieldly, tardy in its movements, and almost unmanageable. Its weight was also increased by the external parade and pomp which it maintained. Every thing was on a large scale; the expenses of living were great, all salaries were high, and most of the officers of the government received, by perquisites and in the various ways which human ingenuity could devise, several times as much as their salaries. The viceroys maintained horse and foot guards, a train of household attendants, and all the pomp and dignity of a regal establishment. They enjoyed a salary of thirty thousand dollars, in the latter part of the eighteenth century; but this was a small part of their income; by monopolizing certain branches of commerce, the disposal of all the lucrative offices, by presents, and by innumerable frauds and abuses of power, they usually, after continuing in office a few years, returned to Spain with a princely fortune. It is asserted that a viceroy, at one festival, the anniversary of his *birth-day*, received fifty thousand dollars in presents.

CHAPTER V.

Administration of Don Joseph Galvez.—Buenos Ayres—fourth vice-royalty created.—Establishment of Intendancies—civil divisions of the country—Judicial tribunals.—Events in some of the principal provinces.—First appearance of the Jesuits, in Paraguay—disturbance in Buenos Ayres—expulsion of the Jesuits.—Gen. Beresford and Sir Home Popham—attack on Buenos Ayres.—Provinces of New-Granada,—conspiracy of Leon—frauds practised upon the Indians—Tupac Amru heads an insurrection—is defeated.—Civil commotion in New-Granada—first attempts to revolutionize the province.—Miranda's expedition—loyalty of the Spanish creoles.—Overthrow of the government of Spain by Buonaparte, promotes the revolution in South America.

The more enlarged views of policy, which led to the relaxation of the ancient laws, and the adoption of more equitable and just commercial regulations, called attention to the internal condition of the Spanish colonies, and occasioned various salutary reformations and improvements. The colonial system, founded on false and inequitable principles, defective and oppressive in itself; was rendered more insupportable from the abuses and corruption which every where had crept into the administration. Not only a correction of abuses, but a reformation of the system, was successfully attempted in the latter division of the eighteenth century, during the enlightened administration of Don Joseph Galvez. Having spent seven years in America, as Inspector-General of New Spain, and visited most of the remote provinces, he was elevated, on his return to Spain, to the head of the department for Indian, or more properly, American affairs. He commenced his administration, which forms a memorable epoch in the history of Spanish America, by a general reformation of the whole system. The increase of population and wealth in the colonies, had

so multiplied the business of the Courts of Audience, that the number of judges were wholly inadequate to a faithful discharge of the duties of the office. He increased the number of judges, raised their salary, and enlarged their powers of appointment. From the extension of the settlements, great inconvenience was experienced, notwithstanding the establishment of the third viceroyalty in New Granada, in consequence of the remoteness of many of the provinces from the seat of government; and the farther the administration was removed from the seat of authority, the greater were the abuses which attended it. There were provinces subject to the government of New Spain, more than two thousand miles from Mexico, and some appertaining to the Viceroyalty of Peru, were still farther from Lima. To remedy this evil, a fourth viceroyalty was created, in the year 1776, comprising the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Potosi, St. Cruz de la Sierra, Charcas, and the towns of Mendoza and St. Juan. The seat of government was established at Buenos Ayres, and Don Pedro Zevallos raised to this new dignity, who was well acquainted with the countries over which he had to preside, having long resided in them, in a subordinate station. This division, together with what was taken off at the erection of the Viceroyalty of New Granada, reduced the territory of the Viceroyalty of Peru to one-third its original extent. The remote provinces of Sonora, Cinaloa, California, and New Navarre, which belonged to the jurisdiction of New Spain, were likewise formed into a separate government, which was conferred on the Chevalier de Croix, who, although not possessed of the title and dignity of viceroy, was wholly independent of the Viceroyalty of New Spain. Several of these provinces contained some of the richest mines of gold in America, recently discovered, and this was among the reasons that urged the erection of a new government, which, from its vicinity, might afford the protection and facilities that the mining operations required. Another, and perhaps the most patriotic measure of the Count de Galvez, was the establishment of Intendancies, for the superintendence and protection of the rights of the Indians. This measure had a happy effect on the natives; under the active superintendence of the intendants, whose duty it was to watch over their rights, as guardians and protectors, this miserable race enjoyed securities and advantages of which they were deprived under the tyranny

of the subaltern Spanish and Indian magistrates, to which they had been subjected.

At a subsequent period, some alterations took place in the political divisions of Spanish America, so that at the commencement of the political revolution, which had restored all the Spanish dominions, on the American Continent, to independence and liberty. Its civil divisions consisted of the four Viceroyalties of New Spain, Peru, Buenos Ayres, and New Granada, and the territories called Captain-Generalcies of Chile, Venezuela, and Guatamala. These seven distinct governments were independent of each other; a viceroy presided over the four first, and an officer, called a captain-general, over the three last, all of which were appointed by the king; were independent of each other, and directly dependent on the crown. These separate governments were subdivided into provinces, over which presided a governor, or *corregidore*, and also into intendancies, which formed the jurisdiction of an officer called an intendant. This latter division was principally for that part of government which related to the Indians. The governors and intendants were appointed by the king, but accountable to the viceroy, or captain-general, to whose jurisdiction the province belonged. The provinces were again divided into departments, over which presided a delegate of the governor, or officer, at the head of the government of the province, and likewise subordinate magistrates, called *alcades*, appointed by the municipalities, denominated *cabildos*. The viceroys and captain-generals possessed both civil and military power, and generally the governors possessed the same; but in some instances they enjoyed only civil authority, in which cases there was a military chief, or officer in the province, called *commandantes*, who held the military command. The supreme judicial power was vested in the Court of Audience, of which there was one or more in each of the viceroyalties and captain-generalcies; the separate judges of this tribunal were called *oidores*, and their number varied according to the population and business of their jurisdictions. A subordinate judicial authority was vested in the governors, corregidores, and their delegates; and the alcades also possessed a limited jurisdiction, but could not act, unless they were law-professors, without the advice of an *assesor*, or lawyer. The decisions of all these inferior tribunals might be reviewed by the Royal Audience, whose decrees were final, except

in some important cases, when an appeal was allowed to the Council of the Indies.

Having detailed some of the principle events and regulations concerning Spanish America generally, we will briefly notice some of the most important occurrences, and historic events in some of the principal provinces which have received less attention than others.

The province of Rio de la Plata, was established distinct from that of Paraguay, in 1620, and was afterwards called Buenos Ayres. The town of Buenos Ayres was founded by Pedro de Mendoza, in 1535, but was abandonded in 1538, and its inhabitants removed to Assumption, where a fort had been built two years before, by Ayolas, and named from the day on which he fought and defeated the natives on the spot where it was erected. Mendoza returned to Spain, and was succeeded as governor, by Ayolas, and on his death, Irala was chosen to succeed him; but was soon deprived of his authority by Don Alvarez, who arrived with a commission from Spain. Of the three thousand Europeans who had entered the La Plata, six hundred only remained at Assumption; the rest had fallen victims to the climate, the ferocity of the savages, and the hardships to which they had been exposed. Alvarez was seized by Irala, and sent to Spain in 1544. The city of Assumption was erected into a bishopric in 1547; but the bishop did not arrive until 1554, when Irala received a commission as governor. In 1557, Cuidad Real was founded in the province of Guayra, as an encomienda, within which forty thousand Indians were brought into habits of industry; and a few years after the encomienda of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in the province of Chiquitos, which comprised sixty thousand native inhabitants, was established. Irala died in 1557, and named Gondales de Mendoza, lieutenant general and commander of the province. His death which was in one year after, was followed by civil dissentions.

In the year 1586, the Jesuits first appeared in Paraguay, and in 1609, father Torrez, their provincial, obtained authority from the governor of the province, to form the converted Indians into townships, to be independent of the Spanish settlements. They only acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of Spain; this power was confirmed by Philip Third, of Spain. During twenty years, a great number of the natives were reduced to habits of industry, by the labours of the Jesuits; but in 1630, they were at-

tacked by the Paulists or Mamelukes, and in two years sixty thousand of them were destroyed or carried off. To defend their settlements, in 1639, the Jesuits obtained authority from Spain, to embody and arm their Indian converts in the manner of Europeans. The Jesuits employed their converts in other pursuits ; in 1668, they rebuilt the city of Santa Fe, and the following year, five hundred of them worked on the fortifications and the cathedral of Buenos Ayres.

In 1580, Buenos Ayres was rebuilt by the governor of Paraguay, from which time, it gradually emerged from obscurity into an important town, and became the seat of the viceroyalty. The Portuguese, attempted a settlement on the north bank of the La Plata, in 1679, when Garro, governor of the province of Rio de la Plata, by order of the viceroy of Peru, expelled the Portuguese, and levelled their fort to the ground. This settlement was for a long time, a subject of dispute between the two nations, but in 1778, it was ceded to Spain. Civil dissentions arose at Assumption ; Don Diego, the governor, was obliged to flee ; but was reinstated in 1722, yet soon after seized by Antequera, and confined as a prisoner. A body of royalists were sent from Peru to quell these dissentions, which was defeated by Antequera, who entered the city in triumph. But the governor of Buenos Ayres, having marched against him, and being deserted by his adherents, he fled to a convent, and was afterwards seized and sent a prisoner to Lima. In 1725, tranquility was re-established, but was of short continuance ; a new governor being appointed, a faction refused to admit him into the city ; Mompo, the leader of the malcontents, was seized and sent to Buenos Ayres.

Antequera having been condemned for treason, was executed in 1731, at Lima, which occasioned great excitement at Assumption, as his popularity was so great that he was canonised as a martyr to liberty. The dissentions continued until 1735, when Zabala governor of Buenos Ayres, succeeded in re-establishing tranquility, and correcting the abuses which had crept into the government.

The increasing prosperity of the Jesuits, began to excite prejudices and jealousies ; various accusations were made against them ; but on examination, most of them were found groundless, and they were confirmed in their rights, in 1745, by a royal decree. Their prosperity and power,

however, soon after began to decline, and the expulsion of their order from Spain, in 1767, was followed by the subversion of their dominion in America. Their possessions were annexed to the government of Paraguay, at which time they had seven hundred sixty-nine thousand three hundred fifty-three horn cattle, ninety-four thousand nine hundred eighty-three horses, and two hundred twenty-one thousand five hundred thirty-seven sheep.

The erection of the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata, led to the establishment of the government at Buenos Ayres, and promoted the prosperity of that city, and all the provinces on the La Plata, and west of the Andes. This measure was followed by one equally liberal and enlightened in 1778, which in a great degree, removed the restrictions on commerce, and opened a free trade with the northern country and the interior of Peru. From this period, Buenos Ayres began to acquire that importance and rank, which it is entitled to maintain, from its valuable position for commerce, and its rich interior country. Its trade has rapidly increased, and the general commerce of the La Plata. It has been promoted by a royal ordinance adopted in 1794, permitting salted meat and tallow, to be exported to Spain and the other colonies free of duty.

In the year 1806, when Spain was in alliance with France in the continental war which prevailed in Europe, a British squadron under the command of general Beresford, and Sir Home Popham, entered the mouth of the La Plata, and on the twenty-fifth of June, anchored off Point de Quilmes, about twelve miles from Buenos Ayres. The troops were disembarked without opposition, and after a feeble attempt to oppose their advance at Rio Chueto, three miles from the city, general Beresford entered the town without resistance. But the Spaniards had no sooner learnt the small number of their enemies, than they determined to expel them; the inhabitants with true Castilian bravery and spirit, embodied, armed themselves, and assisted by one thousand regulars from Montevideo, attacked their invaders with great resolution, and compelled them to surrender after sustaining a heavy loss, on the twelfth of August. Soon after this event, re-enforcements arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, which enabled Sir Home Popham to reduce Montevideo by storm. The British were now only waiting farther re-enforcements to attack the capital; and on the tenth of May, 1807, general

Whitelocke arrived, and took the chief command; and on the fifteenth of June, they were farther re-enforced by an expedition which had been destined against Chile under the command of general Crawford. The British general was now at the head of eight thousand of the best troops in the British service, and felt confident of reducing the capital. The Spaniards, however, had not been inactive; they were determined to make a resolute defence; they had obstructed every avenue to the city by hides from fifteen to twenty feet thick; small pieces of artillery were planted on the houses, which were barricadoed and formed into fortresses, and all the citizens were in arms. On the twenty-eighth of June, the British landed at the Bay of Barragon, and after traversing a swampy country for thirty miles, reached the environs of the capital. On the morning of the fifth of July, the British general having formed his troops in a line along the suburbs, commenced the attack; and never were men more surprised with the reception they met. The cannon planted on the trenches which intersected the streets, poured a destructive fire of grape on the advancing columns, and from the roofs and windows of the houses, an incessant and heavy shower of musquetry assailed them from all quarters, and with appalling effect. As they advanced farther into the city, they only exposed themselves to a hotter and more destructive fire; and whilst thus exposed to be mown down, the enemy were out of their reach, and in a great measure secure from their fire. The British, after the most gallant conduct, were repulsed, with the loss of nearly one third of their army. The next day an armistice was concluded, by which they agreed to evacuate La Plata in two months. At this time, so inveterate and active was the hostility of the Spaniards against the British, that after the pacification, they refused to purchase any articles of British merchandize, although suffering for the want of them. After this, Buenos Ayres remained quiet until the breaking out of the revolution in Spain, in consequence of the designs of Buonaparte against that country, which led to the first movements of the political revolution which has since occurred, and will be considered in another part of this work.

The provinces or kingdom of New-Granada, was first established in 1547, and was under the government of a captain-general, and a royal audience; the seat of government was fixed at Santa Fe de Bogota. In 1718, it was

erected into a viceroyalty, together with several other provinces; but this government was annulled in 1724, and restored in 1740. The viceroyalty comprised, in addition to New-Granada, the provinces of Carthagena, Panama, Santa Martha, Maracaibo, Porto Bello, Antiagnia, Choca, Veragua, Mariquita, Rio de la Hacha, Giron, and Veyva, subject to the audience of Santa Fe, and the provinces of Jean de Bracamoras, Loja Cuenza, Macos, Riobamba, Popayan, Quito, Guayaquil, which belonged to the viceroyalty, but were subject to the royal audience of Quito. The native inhabitants of New-Granada are said to have been more populous, and in a higher state of improvement, when discovered by the Spaniards, than even those of Mexico or Peru.

The influence of the political revolution in the British colonies, and the effects of commercial freedom, which Spanish America enjoyed after the regulations of 1778, gave rise to the first symptoms of a spirit of reformation and political improvement, which appeared in the Spanish colonies. Down to this period, and in general [illegible] breaking out of the revolution in the parent co[illegible] the overthrow of the monarchy by Buonaparte; the [illegible] Creoles in America, notwithstanding the political o[illegible] sion which they suffered, and their personal degradatio[illegible] a class, were distinguished for their loyalty and attachment to their king and country. About the middle of the eighteenth century, a conspiracy was formed in Caraccas, headed by a man named Leon, the object of which, however, was not so much political, as commercial, it being the design of the conspirators to break up the Company of Guipuscoa, sometimes called the Company of Caraccas, who had long enjoyed a monopoly of all the trade of that and several other provinces. The plot did not succeed, and Leon was condemned to death, his house razed to the ground, and a column placed on the spot, as a memorial of the horror of his offence, and the fate that awaits all traitors. In 1780, an alarming revolution broke out in Peru, among the natives, seconded by some of the creole inhabitants. Previous to the reformations and correction of abuses which took place during the administration of Count de Galvez, the corregidores practised such intolerable extortions and frauds on the Indians, compelling them to receive their necessary supplies on their own terms, as finally drove them into measures of open resistance. Tupac

Amru, a native Peruvian, became the leader of the malecontents; and several individuals of influence joining him, the flame of resistance was spread for three hundred leagues into the interior of the country; and so numerous and formidable did the party become, that Tupac Amru was proclaimed Inca of Peru. The Spanish authorities adopted energetic and vindictive measures to suppress the insurgents; the contest lasted three years, and exhibited many bloody scenes. The malecontents were often successful; but Tupac Amru did not conduct in his new dignity so as to maintain the attachment of his adherants; their zeal consequently began to abate, and their efforts to relax; and being attacked by the troops of Buenos Ayres, as well as by those of Lima, and most of the Spanish inhabitants declaring in favour of the government, the insurgents were overpowered, and compelled to submit. Tupac Amru, and most of the principal leaders, were put to death in a manner cruel and abhorrent to the feelings of humanity in the extreme. The loyalty of the creoles had led them to take part with the government, notwithstanding the oppression which they suffered, on an occasion when it was in their power, by joining with the Indians, to have effected a political revolution.

Before this insurrection was suppressed, the Spanish government was alarmed by civil commotions in New-Granada. In 1781, some new regulations and additional taxes adopted by Regente Pineres, the viceroy, were opposed by almost the whole population of the province of Socorro. An armed multitude, amounting to seventeen thousand, marched towards Santa Fe, crying "Long live the king—death to our bad governors." The viceroy not being able to oppose them in arms, had recourse to superstition: they advanced without opposition to within about twelve leagues of the capital, where, instead of being confronted by an army, they were met by Gongora the archbishop, in his pontifical robes, holding the host in his hands. The suddenness and surprize of this appeal to their religious feelings, filled them with awe and timidity. The archbishop availing himself of the happy moment, proposed a conference to Don Salvador Plata their leader, which resulted in an accommodation, and the dispersion of the malecontents. But the terms of capitulation were not adhered to. These indications of a spirit of reform and freedom in the colonies, occasioned the greatest jeal-

ousy and alarm in the Court of Madrid, and the adoption of such severe and harsh measures to suppress it, as rather tended to increase the evil. Printing Presses were prohibited, even in towns of forty or fifty thousand inhabitants, and books, of almost every description, were proscribed, as dangerous and seditious. In New Granada, several persons, merely on suspicion of entertaining revolutionary designs, were subjected to the torture; and similar measures, of a distrustful policy, were pursued in other provinces, all of which tended to increase the discontents of the colonists. Nothing was done to conciliate their feelings, or redress the grievances of which they complained, or which even had the appearance of reforming any of the glaring abuses that every where prevailed. Power and coercion were the only means made use of; the sword, the rack, and the inquisition, were to controul the minds as well as the bodies of the colonists, and convince them that they had no greater liberties, no other rights than those of *submission* to the will of an arbitrary and dogged tyranny.

The political events which occurred in Europe, subsequently to 1788, produced a spirit of political inquiry, that spread over that continent, and even reached the shores of the Spanish dominions in America, where light and liberty had so long been proscribed and shut out, as the greatest evils that could effect the human race. Many of the Spanish Creoles informed themselves with the history and the principles of the American and French Revolutions; and the more they became acquainted with liberty, the more lovely it appeared, and the more odious the tyranny of the Spanish colonial government. Elevated by such sentiments, and relying on the assurances of assistance from the British, derived from the proclamation* of the Govern-

* The following is the proclamation referred to :—" By virtue of an official paper, which I, the governor of this Island of Trinidad, have received from the right honourable Henry Dundas, minister of his Britannic Majesty for foreign affairs, dated 7th April, 1797, which I here publish in obedience to orders, and for the use which your Excellencies may draw from its publication, in order that you may communicate its tenor, which is literally as follows :—' The object which at present I desire most particularly to recommend to your attention, is the means which might be best adapted to liberate the people of the continent near to the Island of Trinidad, from the oppressive and tyrannic system which supports, with so much rigour, the monopoly of commerce, under the title of exclusive registers,

er of Trinidad, a number of creoles at Caraccas, in 1797, formed a plan to revolutionize that province. When on the eve of making the attempt to carry their plans into execution, the conspiracy was discovered, and Don M. Gual and J. M. Espana, the apparent leaders, escaped to a neighbouring island. Two years after, the latter, having the presumption to return to La Guira, was seized, condemned, and executed, and thus became one of the first martyrs of Colombian liberty. In 1806, an attempt was made to revolutionize Venezuela, by General Miranda, a Spanish Creole of distinction. He fitted out an expedition from the United States, although without the assistance or sanction of the government; but he was assisted by Great Britain, then at war with Spain, who furnished the funds for the enterprise. The expedition failed without attempting any thing, and a number of young men from the United States, who, falling into the hands of the Spaniards, fell victims to their own credulity and the cruelty of tyrannical power. The same year, the British sent the armament against Buenos Ayres, which has been noticed. An attack was likewise made on Carthagena. These, and other attempts made on the Coast of the Spanish colonies,

which their government licences demand; also to draw the greatest advantages possible, and which the local situation of the island presents, by opening a direct and free communication with the other parts of the world, without prejudice to the commerce of the British nation. In order to fulfil this intention with greater facility, it will be prudent for your Excellency to animate the inhabitants of Trinidad in keeping up the communication which they had with those of Terra Firma, previous to the reduction of that island; under the assurance, that they will find there an *entrepot*, or general magazine, of every sort of goods whatever. To this end, his Britannic Majesty has determined, in council, to grant freedom to the ports of Trinidad, with a direct trade to Great Britain.'

"With regard to the hopes you entertnin of raising the spirits of those persons, with whom you are in correspondence, towards encouraging the inhabitants *to resist the oppressive authority of their government, I have little more to say, than that they may be certain that, whenever they are in that disposition, they may receive, at your hands, all the succours to be expected from his Britannic Majesty, be it with forces, or with arms and ammunition to any extent; with the assurance, that the views of his Britannic Majesty go no further than to secure to them their independence, without pretending to any sovereignty over their country, nor even to interfere in the privileges of the people, nor in their political, civil, or religious rights.*"

THOMAS PICTON, &c. &c.

Puerto de Espana, 26th June, 1797.

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induced the government to adopt measures for providing a larger military force in the seaports; and the indications of a revolutionary spirit, which had been disclosed, so alarmed the Court of Madrid as to occasion new military regulations, for the greater security of the capital, and to enable the viceroys and generals of the provinces to support each other, in case of civil commotions.

But notwithstanding some scattering sparks, from the sacred altar of liberty, had found their way into Spanish America; notwithstanding the severity of the colonial system, and the corruptions and abuses of power which every where prevailed; such was the habitual loyalty of the Creoles of America; such the degradation and insignificance of many of the other races; so inveterate were the prejudices of all, and so powerful was the influence of a state-religion, maintained by an established hierarchy, that it is probable the colonies would have continued, for successive ages, to be governed by a nation six thousand miles distant, who had no interest in common with them, and whose oppressions they had borne for three centuries, had not that nation been shaken at home, by an extraordinary revolution, and its government overturned. It is the subversion of the monarchy of Spain, by Buonaparte, to which the world is indebted for the independence of Spanish America, and all the hopes inspired by the successful and patriotic career it has hitherto pursued, for its present condition and glorious prospects. Thus an act of tyranny and usurpation, in one hemisphere, was rendered conducive to the establishment of liberty in others, and the emancipation of a large portion of the globe.

HISTORY

AND PRESENT STATE OF

MEXICO.

CHAPTER VI.

Geographical description of the country—its mountains, rivers, bays, harbours—its climate, soil, productions, mines—the mining districts—annual produce of the mines—increase since the revolution—manner of working them—commerce—articles of exportation—duties on importations—manufactories.

The Mexican nation, or republic, is composed of the provinces of the ancient Viceroyalty of New Spain, the Captain-generalcy of Yucatan, the Commandences-general of the eastern and western internal provinces, and the provinces of Chiapa, which formerly belonged to the Captain-generalcy of Guatamala. This territory extends from latitude 15 to latitude 42, north, or about 1875 miles from north to south. On the northern boundary it extends from the Red River to the Pacific, a distance of more than one thousand miles; its least breadth, on its southern boundary, is narrow, not being more than about two hundred miles. It is bounded on the north by the territory of the United States; on the east by the United States and the Gulf of Mexico; on the south by the states of the Republic of Guatamala, and on the west and south-west by the Pacific Ocean. Mexico, like the countries in South America, is traversed by extensive ranges of mountains, which much resemble the Andes in their general character, but from latitude 18, near the Pacific, to latitude 40, north, these ranges present some peculiar characteristics, which

distinguish them from most other mountains in the world. A broad elevated plain, or tract, called table-land, prevails through this vast region, at the elevation of from six thousand to nine thousand feet above the level of the sea. There are many intervening vallies, occasioned by rivers or lakes, that intersect this tract of table-land, which extends more than fifteen hundred miles, terminating at about latitude 40, where it imperceptibly declines to the north.

The Cordilleras, the principal range of the Mexican Andes, north of latitude 19, takes the name of Sierra Madre, and at latitude 21, beyond the city of Guanaxuato, it becomes of extraordinary breadth, and divides into three branches. The eastern branch runs in the direction of Charcas, and is lost in the territory of New Leon; the western branch forms a part of the province of Guadalaxara, and declining, after passing Botanos, it stretches to the Rio Gila, and attains considerable height near the Gulf of California, in the 30th degree of latitude, where it forms the mountains de la Pimeria Alta, celebrated for the gold which washes from their declivities. The third branch, constituting the central chain of the Mexican range, passes through the whole extent of the province of Zacatecas, and extends to the Rio Grande del Norte, and then traversing New Mexico, forms the Crane Mountains and the Sierra Verde. This central range forms the height of land which divides the waters between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The Rocky Mountains of the United States are a continuation of this range, and were examined, by Mackenzie, as far north as the 55th degree of latitude. There are many lofty elevations on these ranges, particularly the group in the central plain, or table-land, between México and the city of Cordova, one of which, called the Popocatepetl, or smoke mountain, is seventeen thousand seven hundred and sixteen feet in height; and another, called the Star Mountain, is seventeen thousand three hundred and seventy-one feet. There are five burning volcanic mountains in Mexico; the Quzaba, Popocatepetl, Tustla, Jorullo, and Colinia; but they are not often subject to eruptions, and earthquakes seldem occur.

In the 20th degree of north latitude, at an elevation of fifteen thousand feet, is a region of perpetual snow; and in the month of January the region of snow descends to the elevation of twelve thousand feet, and sometimes snow falls

at Mexico and Valladolid, which are more than three hundred feet lower. On the declivities of the Cordilleras, there frequently occur fogs and humid winds. The western descent from the table-lands, towards Acapulco, is gradual, and affords a constant and regular change, from a cold to a hot climate. This descent is so gradual and regular that a road might be made fit for carriages; but the descent on the eastern declivity, towards Vera Cruz, is rapid and steep, and hitherto has been passable only by mules; this descent, however, would be passable for carriages, if the superb causeway, which was commenced about the middle of the last century, should ever be completed.

On the maritime coast of the Gulf of Mexico, between the mountains and the sea, the surface of the country is low and diversified with hills. The Peninsula of Yucatan is principally a level tract of country; in the north-east section of the republic, bordering on the United States, and in the vallies of the great rivers, are extensive plains and level tracts of country. There are also many extensive tracts of level land on the borders of the Pacific, both on the coast and in the valleys of the rivers.

The maritime waters of Mexico are extensive and valuable, affording the greatest facilities for commerce and navigation. On the west and south-west the country borders on the great Pacific, for more than two thousand miles, and from this coast projects the unrivalled Peninsula of California, to the extent of nearly ten degrees of latitude, in a direction parallel with the coast, forming a most magnificent gulf of that name. On the east, the country borders extensively on the Gulf of Mexico, the great inland sea of the American Continent. From this coast, also, projects another peninsula, called Yucatan, which is also of great extent, and forms the great Bay of Campeachy. In addition to the waters of the ocean, the Mexican territories are watered by numerous rivers and lakes; but few of the rivers are valuable for navigation. The largest is the Rio Bravo del Norte, which rises near the head waters of the Arkansas, and after a course of nearly eighteen hundred miles, in a south-easterly direction, discharges its waters into the Gulf of Mexico. In its course, this noble river waters an extensive valley, and, like the Mississippi, has its annual freshets.

To the east of the Rio Bravo is the Colorado of the Gulf of Mexico, or the Brassos, which rises in the highlands,

near the border of the United States, and after a course of 700 miles, discharges its waters into the Mexican Gulf. Further east are the Red River and the Sabine, each of which forms a part of the eastern boundary of the republic.

To the south of the Rio Bravo, the most considerable river is the Tampico, which is formed by the junction of the two large streams, called the Panuco and Montazuma, which water a great extent of country. The united waters of these two rivers are discharged into the bay or lake of Tampico. The Jula, one of the head branches of the Montazuma, has its source in the mountains, near the valley of Mexico. South of the River Tampico, is the Lake Tamiagua, which communicates with the Gulf of Mexico, by the Rio Tuspa. The next most considerable river, is the Rio de Xamapa, which discharges its waters a short distance below Vera Cruz. There are numerous other smaller rivers, which intersect the extensive maritime border of the eastern coast: the most important of these rivers is the Guasacualco, which falls into the Gulf of Mexico in latitude 18 deg. 30 min. There is an excellent harbour at the mouth of this river, and there is said also to be a practicable route for a canal by the head waters of the stream, to the Bay of Tehuantepec, on the Pacific Ocean, in lat. 16 deg. 30 min. The Isthmus of Tehuantepec is about one hundred and twenty-five miles wide; and from the summit of a mountain on the isthmus, both oceans may be seen in a clear day. The greatest river that discharges its waters into the Pacific in the Mexican Republic, is the Colorado of the west, which rises in the Rocky Mountains, in latitude 10 N., near the head waters of the Rio del Norte, and is formed by two branches, of which the western is called the Nabojoa, and the eastern, Zaquananas, and in its course it receives another large branch, called the Gila. The waters of the Colorado, after running a course of nearly one thousand miles, are discharged into the Gulf of California, in lat. 33 N. and are said to be navigable for sea vessels three hundred miles. The next most considerable river is the Santiago, which unites with the Pacific in lat. 21 deg. 30 min. N. The principal head branch of this river is Rio Larma, which has its source within twenty miles of the valley of Mexico, and passes through Lake Chapala, its entire course being nearly six hundred miles. The whole coast of the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico, is intersected with rivers, some of which are navi-

gable, and afford good harbours. The Chimalapa is the most important, from the circumstance of its uniting with the bay Tehuantepec already mentioned. The largest lake in Mexico, is the Chapala, situated in lat. 20 north, and covers 1225 square miles. The river Santiago pours through this lake. There are five lakes in the valley of Mexico; Chalco, at the southern extremity of the valley, covers fifty square miles; this lake has no outlet and is separated, by a dike from a long narrow lake, called Xochimilco, which approaches within four and a half miles of the capital. Lake Tezcuco, which was formerly much larger than it is at present, lies north of the Chalco, and contains 77 square miles; the waters are shallow, generally not more than from 9 to 16 feet deep, and at some places much less. Lake San Christaval lies less than a mile from Tezcuco, in a north-west direction, and covers 27 square miles; and three miles further north-west, is Lake Zumpango, which covers ten square miles. The River Guantillan the present source of the Montazuma, formerly emptied itself into this lake; but to prevent inundations, its course was diverted out of the valley. Mexico suffered severely from inundations during its early history and to obviate this evil, it was proposed in 1607 to turn the waters of the Rio Guantillan and those of Lake Zumpango out of the valley, and after several unsuccessful attempts this great work was completed in 1783. The whole length of the drain, is twelve miles and four fifths; at the top it is from two hundred and eighty to three hundred and sixty feet wide, but narrow at the bottom; and the depth for more than two miles is from one hundred to three hundred feet; and for more than half a mile from one hundred and fifty to 200 feet; this canal is called the drain of Huchuctoca, and has since been extended to Lakes San Christaval and Tezcuco. The other lakes are the Pascuaro, a beautiful sheet of water near Valladolid, and Panas and Mextillan in Dwiango.

The principal port on the Mexican coast of the Atlantic, is the ancient one of Vera Cruz, the nearest Atlantic port to the city of Mexico. The harbour of Vera Cruz is very insecure, although formerly the port where the Spanish galleons or flota entered. To the north of Vera Cruz, is the much frequented port of Tampico, situated on the north side of the river of that name, three hundred and twelve miles north-east of the city of Mexico; and on the

opposite side of the river, or bay, is the port of Altamira. From Rio Tampico, the Mexican coast which extends nearly eight hundred miles in a north-easterly direction to the mouth of the river Sabine, is indented by many natural harbours, but there are only a few settlements. To the south of Vera Cruz, are the ports of Alvarado and Guasacualco, at the isthmus of Tehuantepec, and Campeachy, on the peninsula of Yucatan.

The principal ports on the Pacific, are the bays of Tehuantepec, Acapulco, in north lat. 19 d. 12 m. and San Blass in north lat. 21 d. 32 m. situated on a bay of the same name, which receives the waters of the great river Santiago. Above San Blass, in the Gulf of California, there are many good harbours, but few considerable settlements.

Climate—The climate of that part of Mexico, which is included within the tropical regions, has but two seasons, the wet and the dry; the rainy season commences the beginning of June, and lasts for four or five months; the remainder of the year, is dry and pleasant. The first rains are accompanied with violent electrical explosions, and on their first approach, the inhabitants of the sea ports on the Pacific coast, usually retreat to the Highlands, where the climate is known to be the most humid. The lowlands of the coast within the tropics, possess a hot climate and are also the most unhealthy to strangers, from northern latitudes. The coast of the Pacific, is warmer than that of the Gulf of Mexico in the same degree of latitude, with the exception of the Peninsula of Yucatan, which is warm, dry, and very healthy. The highlands at the elevation of four or five thousand feet, above the level of the sea, enjoy perpetually a soft, spring-like temperature, which never varies more than eight or nine degrees. The climate of this region is very salubrious, but it is often enveloped in thick fogs. At the elevation of seven thousand feet, another climate commences, the mean temperature of which is about 60 degrees. The city of Mexico is in this region, which is healthy and yields abundantly, the productions of both tropical and temperate regions.

The mean temperature of the table-lands, within the tropics, at an elevation of about one thousand feet above the level of the sea, is 77 of Fahrenheit. From the peculiar geographical character of this country, it possesses in the same parallel of latitude, all the varieties of climate, from the regions of perpetual frost, to the continual and

intense heat of a tropical sun. This is an advantage enjoyed by no other country in the world, and would have appeared strange and incredible to the ancients, who supposed the tropical regions to be uninhabitable, in consequence of their intense heat. As the climate in the tropical regions of Mexico, does not depend on the seasons as in the other parts of the world, it possesses almost perfect uniformity.

On the sea coasts, particularly on the Pacific, the tropical heat prevails, and, near Acapulco, the climate is the hottest and most unhealthy in the world; on the table-land at an elevation of from about four thousand to five thousand feet there prevails perpetual spring; the temperature being uniformly soft, and spring-like, and seldom varies more than nine degrees. Here the mean temperature, throughout the whole year, is from 60 deg. to 70 deg. and the extremes of heat and cold, and the pleasing varieties of the seasons, are wholly unknown.

Many sections of the table-lands suffer severely from drought, and this is particularly the case with much of the country bordering on the Gulf of California, where there are extensive arid districts, condemned to perpetual desolation. The northern and north-eastern sections of the federation, enjoy a climate similar to the United States, healthy and productive. The country bordering on the Pacific, extending to the 42d degree of north latitude, belongs to the Mexican Union. This region is much milder than in the same degree of latitude on the Atlantic, and enjoys a delightful and salubrious climate, a fertile soil, and is rich in natural, agricultural, and metallic productions.

Productions.—The table-land is generally good; and when it is not too arid, very productive; all the fruits and grains of the northern parts of America and Europe, are produced at the elevation of six thousand feet above the level of the sea, whilst the low country, bordering on the coasts, yields in proportion all the productions of the tropics. Maize, a sort of Indian corn, is common to both, and is extensively cultivated in the low country, two crops being raised annually. It is the principal staple of the country, and when the crop fails, Humboldt says "there is a famine in Mexico." Wheat is cultivated with success on the table-land, rye and barley are also cultivated, and where it is practicable to irrigate the soil, it produces al-

most incredible burdens. The quality of the wheat is excellent. The sugar-cane is also successfully cultivated on the table-land, which likewise produces, in great profusion, all the vegetables and fruits of the temperate climates of America and Europe, and at the same time are growing, in the lower sections, all the fruits of the tropics, in equal abundance.

Cotton is cultivated with success on the highlands, as well as the low. The olive and the vine both succeed well, but are not extensively cultivated; and the country is favourable to the production of tobacco, indigo, and silk; but the two last articles are entirely neglected, and the first has suffered much from the restrictions of the Spanish government. The potatoe is raised in the high country, and the yam and sweet potatoe in both high and low; rice, the bananna plant, and manioc root, are produced abundantly in the low country, and are important articles of food, except with the natives, who subsist principally on Indian corn. The vanilla forms another very essential article of Mexican agriculture; it abounds on the eastern declivities of the table-lands, in the intendancies of Vera Cruz and Oaxaca. It is generally cultivated by the Indians. The medicinal root, jalap, which derives its name from the district of Jalapa, is found in shady vallies, near the mountains, and delights in a temperate climate. The cochineal insect, one of the richest articles of Mexican commerce, is also reared extensively in Oaxaca. A large proportion of the country between San Luis and Tampico, is laid out as grazing farms, where are raised great numbers of horses, mules, cattle, and sheep. The great valley of the Rio del Norte, is also said to be very favourable for grazing, and the agricultural productions of temperate climates. There are many other sections of the Mexican Federation equally favourable for grazing, and the country is well supplied with domestic animals, such as horses, cattle, mules, sheep, goats, and swine.

The table-lands of Mexico are intersected by many rich and fertile vallies; affording inexhaustible resources for agriculture: among the most important, is that of Mexico, in which is situated the great city of the same name, and which is two hundred and thirty miles in circumference, and has an elevation of seven thousand four hundred feet above the level of the sea. This valley encloses five lakes, already noticed, which communicate by a drain, or canal,

with the river Montazuma, whose waters are discharged into the Gulf of Mexico. There are many other fertile vallies interspersed among the table-lands, among which the great valley, that is watered by the River Santiago, and its branches, is represented to be one of the richest, most fertile, and highly cultivated districts in Mexico.

Mines.—The metallic treasures of Mexico, surpass those of any other country for their abundance and excellence. Baron Humboldt says, "that there are three thousand mines of the precious metals already discovered in Mexico;" and he supposes that in the northern sections of the country, great mineral wealth will yet be discovered in the rocks of secondary formation.

The following are the thirteen most considerable mining districts in Mexico:—

1. Guanaxuato, near a city of the same name.
2. Catorce, in the Intendancy of San Luis Potosi.
3. Zacatecas, near a city of the same name.
4. Real del Monte, in Mexico.
5. Bolanos, in Guadalaxara.
6. Guarisamey, in Durango.
7. Sombrerete, in Zacatecas.
8. Tasco, in Mexico.
9. Balopilas, in Durango.
10. Zimapan, in Mexico.
11. Fresnillo, in Zacatecas.
12. Ramos, in San Luis Potosi.
13. Parral, in Durango.

The tract of mountains in Mexico, which produces the greatest quantity of silver, is situated between the parallels of 21 and 24 d. 30 m. north latitude; and it is remarkable that the metallic riches of Mexico and Peru are placed in both hemispheres at about the same distance from the equator. The mine of Valenciana, at Guanaxuato, is supposed to be the richest in Mexico, and has furnished, in a common year, from five to six hundred thousand marks of silver, and fifteen or sixteen hundred marks of gold. A mark of silver is of the value of eight and a half dollars, and one of gold, of one hundred and thirty-six dollars. The annual produce of the mines of Mexico was estimated, before the revolution, at two million five hundred thousand marks, (about ten times more than is afforded by all the mines in Europe) of which Guanaxuato, Catorce, and Zacatecas, yield one million three hundred thousand. In years of

their greatest prosperity, the mines of Mexico have produced annually twenty-two million of dollars in silver and about one million in gold. The gold is produced principally by washing the earth and sand. Some native gold is found in veins in the province of Oaxaca; but the greater part is obtained in veins of silver ore. The silver ore is not rich in any of the Mexican mines; masses of native silver have been found but very rarely; the average proportion of silver is three or four ounces in sixteen hundred ounces of ore. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, the entire coinage of gold and silver, in Mexico, was only about five million of dollars annually; since which period the amount has been constantly increasing, and during the nineteenth century amounted to six times that quantity. The increase and extension of the mining operations were astonishingly great, from 1790 to the commencement of the late revolution. The cause of this increase Humboldt attributes "to the increase of population on the table-land, the progress of knowledge and national industry, the freedom of trade conceded to America in 1778, the facility of procuring, at a cheap rate, the iron and steel necessary for the mines, the fall of the price of mercury, the discovery of the mines of Valenciana and Catorce, and the establishment of the Tribunal de Minercia."

The mining operations are carried on by individuals. When a person discovered a mine, and his claim to the discovery was established by the proper tribunal, the king granted him a district of land around the mine, in the direction of the vein; and formerly granted to him, also, a certain number of Indians to work the mine. The proprietors were obliged to pay one-tenth of the product to the king, and one and a half per cent. besides, together with the coinage and seigniorage. The working of a mine is a most extensive concern, and attended with immense expense, and consequently requires a vast capital. In the mine of Valenciana there were, before the revolution, eighteen hundred workmen in the interior of the mine; an administrator, with a salary of twelve thousand dollars; an overseer, a number of under-overseers, and nine miners. The expense of powder alone, for this mine, has amounted to about eighty thousand dollars, and the steel, for the implements, to twenty-seven thousand. When Humboldt visited this mine, in 1803, a new draught-pit was opening,

which was to be sunk to the astonishing depth of one thousand six hundred and eighty-five feet into the bowels of the earth ; it was eighty-seven feet in circumference, and estimated to cost one million of dollars. At this time it was sunk six hundred and three feet, and it was calculated to take twelve years to complete it. The mines are sometimes obliged to be abandoned, in consequence of the influx of water, and pumps, of a vast size and breadth, are used to raise the water from the shafts, of immense depth. A pump was lately cast, at Cincinnati, in the United States, for a mine in Mexico, of one thousand feet in length, consisting of pieces of ten feet each. The profits of the mines are very great ; there have been individuals whose income from them has been one hundred and ninety thousand dollars, annually, and some of the great proprietors have enjoyed a revenue of nearly three hundred thousand dollars.

Mines of iron, lead, copper, and quicksilver, abound in Mexico, but have been greatly neglected, during the late war, and such was the scarcity of iron that it sold for forty dollars per hundred, and steel as high as two hundred and sixty dollars.

Commerce.—The commerce of Mexico is now free to all nations, in amity with the republic. The external commerce is principally carried on from the ports of Tampico, Vera Cruz, Alvarado, and Campeachy, on the Gulf of Mexico, and Acapulco and San Blas, on the Pacific. The foreign commerce of Mexico is carried on chiefly in foreign vessels, principally in those of the United States and Great Britain. Until the year 1778, the commerce of all Spanish America was monopolized by the cities of Seville and Cadiz, and previous to this period was carried on by the fleets of galleons, under the regulations of the Council of the Indies and the Board of Trade. The foreign commerce of New Spain and the adjoining provinces was conducted entirely at the port of Vera Cruz, where that part of the fleet, destined to supply Mexico, entered and disposed of its valuable commodities in a public fair. All other commerce with America was prohibited, under the severest penalties, not only to foreigners and the colonists, but even to Spaniards. All trade between the different colonies was either prohibited or so restricted as to destroy it. The severe prohibitions and restrictions on the commerce of America, were among the greatest oppressions of the colonial system. In the year 1778, by a decree of the

Council of the Indies, and some subsequent regulations, the commerce of the colonies was rendered comparatively free, so far as respected Spain ; it was, however, confined to Spanish ships, commanded by Spanish officers, and manned principally by Spanish seamen. In that year the whole exports to America amounted to eleven millions of dollars, paid four millions duty, and employed one hundred and seventy ships. But down to the separation from Spain, all commerce with the colonies was prohibited to foreigners, on pain of death. In addition to the trade at Vera Cruz, on the Pacific Coast, an important commerce was carried on with Manilla, a town on one of the Phillippine Islands. This trade was pursued in one or two large galleons, of twelve or fifteen tons, which sailed from Manilla the end of July, with the south-west monsoon, and arrived at Acapulco in three or four months. The cargo consisted of muslins, printed calicoes, coarse cottons, raw silks, and the various kinds of China and East-India goods, together with spices and jewelry. These cargoes were first brought to Manilla by a trade carried on between that place and China, principally by Chinese merchants. The Manilla trade was directly contrary to law ; but from some unaccountable reason was permitted, until it became so important, and so many interested in it, that it could not be suppressed.

On the western coast, in addition to the Manilla commerce, a coasting trade is carried on with Guatamala, principally from San Blas, and a small trade with Guayaquil and Lima; and although the ports on the Pacific coast are extremely good, the coasting trade is inconsiderable.

It is a singular fact, which is strongly demonstrative of the want of commercial enterprize among the Mexicans, that whilst the British and the citizens of the United States traverse one half of the globe, to pursue a profitable whale fishery, in their own waters, the Mexicans have never engaged in this pursuit. The Secretary of State of the present government, in a report to Congress, in Nov. 1823, adverts to this subject, and suggests the propriety of granting to foreign vessels, fitted out on the Mexican coast, the same privileges as are granted to native citizens, as an encouragement to the trade. Under the colonial system, the contraband trade with Mexico was extensive, often amounting, even in time of peace, to one-third of the regular commerce. It was carried on, principally, with the ports of

Campeachy and Vera Cruz. Early in the nineteenth century the importation into Mexico, including the contraband trade, was of the amount of twenty millions of dollars, and the exportations, exclusive of specie, amounted to six millions. The mines produced about twenty-three millions, which, after deducting eight or nine millions on the account of the government, was sufficient to liquidate the balance of trade and leave one million in the country.

The principal articles of exportation at Vera Cruz, on an average, several years before the revolution, were as follows :—

Gold and Silver coined and wrought,	$17,000,000
Cochineal,	2,400,000
Sugar,	1,300,000
Flour of different sorts,	300,000
Indigo,	280,000
Provisions,	100,000
Tanned Leather,	80,000
Sarsaparilla,	90,000
Vanilla,	60,000
Jalap,	60,000
Soap,	50,000
Campeachy Wood,	40,000
Pimento of Tobasco,	30,000

The imports, embraced the following articles :—

Paper, (three hundred thousand reams,)	$1,000,000
Linens, Cottons, Woollens and Silks,	9,200,000
Brandies,	1,000,000
Cacoa,	1,000,000
Quicksilver,	650,000
Iron,	600,000
Steel,	200,000
Wine,	700,000
Wax,	300,000
The importations by Vera Cruz, estimated at	15,000,000
The exportations by that port, estimated at	22,000,000

The official statement of the Consulado of Vera Cruz, made the exportations of 1802, amount, in precious metals to $48,800,000
In agricultural products, 9,147,000

Total 57,947,000

The importations of that year amounted to	24,100,000
In 1803, the exports, were, in precious metals,	15,554,000
In agricultural products, ...	5,368,000
Total	20,922,000
The importations amounted to . . .	22,975,000

The duties on merchandize, imported into America under the colonial system, were heavy; and consisted of nine and a half per cent. on what was called free effects, or articles of the produce or manufacture of Spain; and seven per cent. on goods and produce of foreign countries on its landing in America, having first paid fifteen per cent. in Spain. The present government established a tariff of twenty-five per cent. on goods imported, and the minister of finance in his report to the congress in 1823, complains that the articles of merchandize are not correctly classed, and also proposes to reduce the duty on imports to twenty-two or twenty-three per cent. including the consulate duty. The present duty is on the estimated or supposed value, and often amounts to eighty per cent. on the first cost of the article. In Mexico, there is an additional duty of ten and a half per cent. on goods sent to that city; in other towns there is an internal duty, which is not uniform; in some, it does not exceed four per cent. on the amount of actual sales. The expense of transportation of goods, from Tampico to Mexico, is from one dollar and twenty-five cents, to two dollars and fifty cents per twenty-five pounds; and from Vera Cruz to Mexico, from one to two dollars per twenty-five pounds. A mule carries from three to four hundred pounds, according to the state of the roads.

Next to the enjoyment of liberty and free institutions, one of the most important advantages which Mexico will derive from her independence, will be the freedom and activity given to her commerce, which will greatly promote the national prosperity. A free government, free press, and free trade, cannot fail of invigorating every department of national industry. The remarks made by Humboldt, when the enjoyment of these primary advantages, was not foreseen, will now appear more just and be likely soon to be realized: "But by allowing a free course to the national industry, by encouraging agriculture and manufactures, the importation will diminish of itself, and

it will then be easy for the Mexicans to pay the value of foreign commodities with the productions of their own soil. The free cultivation of the vine and the olive on the table-land of New Spain; the free distillation of spirits from sugar, rice, and the grape; the exportation of flour, favoured by the making of new roads; the increase of plantations of sugar-cane, cotton, and tobacco; the working of the iron and mercury mines; and the manufacture of steel, will perhaps one day become more inexhaustible sources of wealth, than all the veins of gold and silver united. Under more favourable external circumstances, the balance of trade may be favourable to New Spain, without paying the account which has been opened for centuries between the two continents entirely with Mexican dollars."

The imports that are best adapted to the Mexican market, are said to consist of European, American, and Indian cotton and linen goods; French, Spanish, Italian, Indian, and Canton silks; paper, some military goods, French and Spanish wine and brandy; quicksilver, cocoa, and cinnamon. To this list, ships may be added, both for the public service and for commercial purposes.

In addition to the maritime commerce, a very valuable and extensive internal trade has lately been opened between the citizens of the western borders of the United States, and those of the internal provinces of Mexico.

It is supposed that this trade is capable of great extension, and that it might hereafter become a source of great profit and convenience to the inhabitants of both countries. It consists in the exchange of such manufactured articles of the United States, as are adapted to the comfort and convenience of the inhabitants of those internal regions, for the precious metals and some of the staple productions of the country.

Manufactures.—The situation of the towns on the table-land of Mexico, so far removed from the coast, and the difficulty of transporting merchandize over rugged mountains, greatly encourages the establishment of manufactories, and even renders them absolutely necessary to the comfort of the inhabitants in those elevated regions. The value of the manufacturing industry of Mexico, previous to the revolution, was estimated at from seven to eight millions of dollars; but this, with every other branch of industry, has suffered during the struggles of that protract-

ed contest. The intendancy of Guadalaxara, produces cotton and wool in great abundance, and is one of the principal seats of the manufactories of cotton and woolen cloths. This branch is also carried on to a considerable extent in Puebla and Queretaro. The manufacture of powder, was under the colonial government, a royal monopoly; but nearly three-fourths of the quantity consumed in the country was made, and sold in a contraband manner; and this manufacture is important, and must increase, as the consumption of the mines is very great. Hard soap is manufactured in Mexico, Puebla, and Guadalaxara, and in the former city, plate is a most important manufacture. Services of plate are made in Mexico, to the value of thirty-seven thousand dollars, and which in style and elegance of workmanship, would rival the finest in Europe. The coinage of money in the mint at Mexico, is really an important manufacturing interest; and, at its different branches, employs four hundred workmen. It was established in 1535, and in 1733, was placed entirely under the direction of the government. It is estimated by Humboldt, that, since its establishment, it has coined four hundred and eight million pounds sterling.

The most profitable manufacture in Mexico, is that of Tobacco, which is pursued extensively in some towns, and was formerly a royal right; at one segar manufactory in Queretaro, three thousand persons are employed. Hats, shoes, and saddlery, are important branches of manufacture in the city of Mexico, and in all the principal towns; most of the towns are also supplied with potteries and silver-smiths, and the demand for silver plate is very great, both for the use of churches and families. This arises in some measure from the difficulty of transporting china and glass ware from the coast, over a mountainous country, with rough roads. Cabinet work, of inferior quality, is manufactured from cedar and pine; coach-making is also carried on to a considerable extent. For the want of streams, the mills in Mexico are for the most part worked by animal power, and are in every respect inferior to the flour mills of the United States. From this circumstance, the manufacture of flour can never be carried on to any great extent, for exportation, if wheat should be ever so abundantly raised. Mexico is plentifully supplied with domestic liquors called pulque and *vinomexcal*, which are

produced from the maguey plant, extensively cultivated in Mexico for this purpose. From the sap or juice of the maguey, the pulque is manufactured, which is extensively used in Mexico. The vinomezcal is the brandy of maguey. The vine has been here neglected, in consequence of the restriction of the colonial government, but might be cultivated with success, in all the elevated regions in Mexico.

CHAPTER VII.

Intendancies.—Mexican States.—Texas.—Principal towns —Mexico, Guadalaxara, Puebla, Guanaxuato, Zacatecas, Queretaro, Oaxaca, San Luis Potosi.—Roads and Canals.—Government.—Religion.—Iturbide.—Military and Naval resources.—Finance and expenditure.—Population and character of the inhabitants.—Education, and institutions of learning.

PREVIOUS to the late revolution, the Viceroyalty of Mexico was divided into the following Intendancies :

INTENDANCY OF MEXICO.

Population in 1803,	1,511,800
Extent of surface in square leagues,	5,927
Number of inhabitants to the square league,	255

Principal Towns.

Mexico,	Acapulco (Acapolco,)
Tezcuco,	Zacatula,
Cuyoacan,	Lerma,
Tacuybaya,	Toluca (Tolocan,)
Tacuba (the ancient Talcopan,)	Pachuca,
Cuernavacca,	Cadereita,
Chilpansingo,	San Juan del Rio,
Tasco (Tlachco,)	Queretaro.

INTENDANCY OF PUEBLA.

Population in 1803,	813,300
Extent of surface in square leagues,	2,696
Number of inhabitants to the square league,	301

Principal Towns.

La Puebla de los Angeles,	Tehuacan de las Granadas,
Tlascala,	Tepeaca or Tepeyacac,
Cholula,	Huajocingo or Huetxocingo.
Atlixco,	

INTENDANCY OF GUANAXUATO.

Population in 1803, ... 517,300
Extent of surface in square leagues, . . 911
Number of inhabitants to the square league, . 586

Principal Towns.

Guanaxuato, or Santa Fe de Guanajuato,
Salamanca,
Celaya,
Villa de Leon,
San Miguel el Grande.

INTENDANCY OF VALLADOLID.

Population in 1803, ... 376,400
Extent of surface in square leagues, . . 3,446
Number of inhabitants to the square league, . 109

Principal Towns.

Valladolid de Michoacan,
Pascuaro,
Tzintzontzan or Huitzitzilla.

INTENDANCY OF GUADALAXARA.

Population in 1803, ... 630,500
Extent of surface in square leagues, . . 9,612
Number of inhabitants to the square league, . 66

Principal Towns.

Guadalaxara,
San Blas,
Compostela,
Aquas Calientes,
Villa de la Purificacion,
Lagos,
Colima.

INTENDANCY OF ZACATECAS.

Population in 1803, ... 153,300
Extent of surface in square leagues, . . 2,255
Number of inhabitants to the square league, . 65

Principal Towns.

Zacatecas, Fresnillo, Sombrerete.

INTENDANCY OF OAXACA.

Population in 1803, ... 534,800
Extent of surface in square leagues, . . 4,447
Number of inhabitants to the square league, . 120

Principal Towns.

Oaxaca or Guaxaca (the ancient Huaxyacac,)
Tehuantepec, or Teguantepeque,
San Antonio de los Cues.

INTENDANCY OF MERIDA.

Population in 1803, ... 465,800
Extent of surface in square leagues, . . 5,977
Number of inhabitants to the square league, . 81

Principal Towns.

Merida de Yucatan, Campeachy, Valladolid.

INTENDANCY OF VERA CRUZ.

Population in 1803, ... 156,000
Extent of surface in square leagues, . . 4,141
Number of inhabitants to the square league, . 38

Principal Towns.

Vera Cruz, Cordoba,
Xalapa, Orizaba,
Perote (the ancient Pinahuizapan,) Tlacotlalpan.

INTENDANCY OF SAN LUIS POTOSI.

Population in 1803, ... 334,900
Extent of surface in square leagues, . . 27,821
Number of inhabitants to the square league, . 12

Principal Towns.

San Luis Potosi, Monterey,
Nuevo Santander, Linares,
Charcas, or Santa Maria de las Charcas. Monclova,
Catorce, San Antonio de Bejar.

INTENDANCY OF DURANGO.

Population in 1803, ... 159,700
Extent of surface in square leagues, . . 16,873
Number of inhabitants to the square league, . 10

Principal Towns.

Durango, or Guadiana, Parras,
Chihuagua, San Pedro de Batopilas,
San Juan del Rio, San Jose del Parral,
Nombre de Dios, Santa Rosa de Cosiguiriachi,
Papasquiaro, Guarisamey.
Saltillo,
Mapimis,

INTENDANCY OF LA SONORA.

Population in 1803, ... 121,400
Extent of surface in square leagues, . . 19,143
Number of inhabitants to the square league, . 6

Principal Towns.

Arispe,	Cinaloa,
Sonora,	El Rosario,
Hostimuri,	Villa del Fuerte,
Culiacan,	Los Alamos.

THE PROVINCE OF NEW MEXICO.

Population in 1803,	40,200
Extent of surface in square leagues,	5,709
Number of inhabitants to the square league,	7

Principal Towns.

Santa Fe,	Taos,
Albuquerque,	Passo del Norte.

PROVINCE OF OLD CALIFORNIA.

Population in 1803,	9,000
Extent of surface in square leagues,	7,295
Number of inhabitants to the square league,	1

Principal Towns.

Loreto, Santa Ana, San Joseph.

PROVINCE OF NEW CALIFORNIA.

Population in 1803,	15,600
Extent of surface in square leagues,	2,125
Number of inhabitants to the square league,	7

Principal Towns.

San Diego,	San Miguel,
San Luis Rey de Francia,	Soledad,
San Juan Capistrano,	San Antonio del Padua,
San Gabriel,	San Carlos de Monterey,
San Fernando,	San Juan Baptista,
San Bunaventura,	Santa Cruz,
Santa Barbara,	Santa Clara,
La Purissima Concepcion,	San Jose,
San Luis Obispo,	San Francisco.

Since the revolution, the province of Chiapa, which formerly belonged to the Captain-generalcy of Guatamala has been attached to the Mexican territory, and now constitutes one of the states of the federation.

The Mexican Union now comprises the following states: The interior of the west is composed of the states of Sonora, Sinalsa, and the two Californias; the interior of the north comprises the provinces or states of Chihuahua, Durango,

and New Mexico; the interior of the east is composed of the provinces of Coahuila, New Leon, Texas, and New Santander. Besides these, are the states of Mexico, Mechoacan, Ojaca, Pueblos of the Angels, Tlaxacala, Queretaro, San Luis Potosi, Tabasco, Vera Cruz, Xalisco, Yucatan, Zacatecas, Chiapa, and Guanaxuato. Most of the territory, comprised within the limits of the above-mentioned states, consists of the table-lands and the maritime borders, with the exception of the province of Texas, and that part of the interior of the west which is situated beyond the Colorado of the Gulf of California. Those two extensive districts of the Mexican territory differ so much in their general geographical character from the table-land of Mexico, that they demand a separate and particular description.

The province of Texas comprises that vast extent of country between the Rio del Norte and the western boundary of the United States. This extensive region was claimed by the United States as part of Louisiana, but this claim was relinquished to Spain by the Florida Treaty. According to a computation, which some have made, this vast territory comprises an area of two hundred and forty thousand square miles; and it embraces an extensive maritime border, and is well watered by a number of large and valuable rivers, the principal of which are the Colorado, or Brassos, and the Red River, which forms part of its eastern boundary. It possesses an excellent climate, and a soil equal to any part of western America. The policy of relinquishing our claim, which many competent judges considered well founded, to a country of such great extent and fertility, so favourably located for settlement; a country capable of supporting millions of republican citizens in affluence, and which can be of no great value to any other nation, as from its situation, if it is ever settled, its population must come chiefly from the United States, was justly questioned by many enlightened and patriotic citizens at the time of the ratification of the Florida Treaty; nor have the subsequent events in Mexico, or our own experience, removed the doubts, or proved the wisdom of the measure. This territory is now receiving some few settlers from the United States, but was it annexed to our confederacy, it would soon be divided into two or three states, and filled with an enterprising and industrious population.

The country beyond the Colorado of the west, which belongs to the Mexican Republic, is likewise of great extent and fertility, enjoying a fine climate, equal to the countries on the borders of the Mediterranean, in Europe; it is probably destined, at no distant period, to be adorned with beautiful villages and magnificent cities, surrounded with highly cultivated and fertile fields, the abodes of an enlightened, industrious and enterprising population.

Principal Towns.—The City of Mexico, the capital of the federation, is situated in the great valley of the same name, in lat. 19 deg. 25 min. 45 sec. The centre of the city is nearly three miles west of the salt lake Tezeuco. The extent of the town is computed to be a square of between four and five miles. The site is almost an uniform level. The city is built on piles, is very compact, and surrounded with a wall. The streets are sufficiently wide, and run nearly north and south and east and west, intersecting each other at right angles; they are well paved, and have flagged walks, formed of flat stone. The public squares are spacious, and surrounded by buildings of hewn stone, and of very good architecture. The public edifices and churches are vast and splendid, and the private buildings are generally built of solid materials, and have a magnificent appearance, being usually three or four stories high, with flat terrace roofs, and many of them ornamented with iron balconies. The public buildings are numerous, and there is said to be not less than one hundred and five cupolas, spires and domes, within the limits of the city. There are fifty-six churches, besides the cathedral, which is a stately stone edifice, occupying one side of the great square, and stands on the ruins of an ancient Mexican temple. It has a front of five hundred feet by four hundred and twenty. From the towers of the cathedral, the whole basin of Mexico may be seen, surrounded by hills and mountains; the lakes and the rich meadows that border on them, the churches and spires of the neighbouring villages, the cultivated fields, fine gardens, and nearly lost in the distance the snowy summits of the volcanic mountains of Puebla, afford one of the most delightful, variegated and grand prospects in the world. In addition to the cathedral, many of the churches are neat and handsome buildings, and splendidly ornamented; many of them are attached to convents, which are very numerous, amounting, it is said, to no less than twenty-three monasteries and fifteen nuneries. The other

public buildings and institutions, consist of the Viceroyal Palace, situated on the principal square, is built on the spot occupied by Cortes, after the conquest of the city, directly opposite the palace of Montazuma. It is a building of great extent, and is composed of a number of squares and inner courts, with separate staircases and suits of apartments. There is a botanic garden attached to this building.

The mint is a spacious stone edifice, three hundred and sixty feet in front, by two hundred and sixty deep; there are not less than thirty persons employed in the different branches; there are fifteen engravers, five essayers, and two hundred labourers, and about one hundred mules in the stables. The coining at this mint, in prosperous times, has exceeded twenty-seven millions of dollars in one year. There is a University and a Mineria, or school of mines; the former is accommodated with a spacious building, and is a well endowed institution, and founded as early as 1551. The Mineria is provided with a building in which there is a collection of minerals and a good philosophical apparatus. This institution was designed to educate young men, and qualify them to become useful superintendants of mines. There is also in Mexico, an academy of the fine arts; several inferior colleges and large schools, and many valuable private libraries.

The principal manufactory in Mexico, is the one for making segars, in which five or six hundred persons are employed at this branch of business, and a large building is occupied, near the suburbs of the city.

The market place of Mexico is well supplied with meats, fruits, and vegetables of both the tropical and temperate climates, at a moderate price; fish only are dear and scarce.

The city of Mexico is abundantly supplied with water, from two great acqueducts, the longest of which brings the water from the springs of Santa Fe, near the chain of mountains that separate the valley of Mexico from that of Lerma. This aqueduct is thirty-three thousand four hundred sixty-four feet in length, supported on arches of stone and brick, plastered over. The other aqueduct conducts the water from Chapoltepec to the city, and is ten thousand eight hundred sixty feet in length. There is a spacious public walk in Mexico, called the Alameda, which is planted with rows of trees with a fountain in the centre, supplied with water from one of the great aqueducts. The

capital is also accommodated with a well regulated theatre; the city of Mexico communicates with the lakes Chalco and Xochimilco, by a canal; and there are five great causeways, or avenues, leading to the city, which are lined with rows of large trees. The country around Mexico, abounds with small towns, and well built villages, interspersed with fertile fields, and gardens and orchards. A great part of the land that intervenes between the two lakes, Tezcuco and Chalco, is surrounded by ditches, laid out into gardens and cultivated by the Indians, and on which are raised a great quantity of vegetables and flowers, suited to the Mexican market. The floating gardens, so often described, have been discontinued since the construction of the canal Huehuetoca, which drains the valley and prevents inundations.

The population of Mexico, was estimated in 1801, to be one hundred and thirty-seven thousand; of which sixty-seven thousand five hundred are whites, and sixty-nine thousand five hundred are people of colour; the population is now estimated at between one hundred and fifty, and one hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants. The distance from Mexico to Vera Cruz, is two hundred and seven miles; to Acapulco, one hundred and ninety-eight miles; to Oaxaca, two hundred and thirty-seven miles; to Santa Fe in New Mexico, thirteen hundred and twenty miles. The city was founded in 1325, according to Humboldt.

Guadalaxara, is now considered the second city in the Mexican Republic. It is situated in lat. 21. 9, north, four hundred and fifty miles north-west of the City of Mexico, on a delightful and fertile plain, near the Bararya river. Its present population is estimated at seventy thousand.

The other considerable cities are Puebla, situated in lat. 19. N. This city is at the elevation of seven thousand three hundred eight feet above the level of the sea; its scite is on the south side of a hill, which is covered with wood to its summit. The plain that surrounds the town, is well cultivated, and is highly productive in grains and fruits. This plain is bounded by a chain of hills presenting alternately, cultivated fields, and luxuriant forests; and the view is terminated by the volcanoes of Puebla, clothed in eternal snows. The city is compactly built and the houses are all of stone, large and commodious. The public buildings consist of a cathedral, a town-houe, and numerous churches, and convents, it being said, that there

are more than one hundred spires and domes in the city. The population is stated to be sixty thousand. The Popocatepetl, the loftiest mountain in North America, is not far from this city, the height of which is seventeen thousand seven hundred sixty feet above the ocean. Puebla lies tninety miles east by south of the city of Mexico.

Guanaxuato, is situated among the ravines of the mountains, about 150 miles northwest of Mexico, was founded in 1554, is well built, with spacious houses of hewn stone, but the streets are narrow and crooked. The population of the city and the neighbouring mines is computed to be thirty-five thousand seven hundred and thirty-three. The inhabitants of Guanaxuato, are represented to be very intelligent, hospitable, and industrious. This town is celebrated for the rich mines in its vicinity, which are undoubtedly the most productive of any in North America. The extent of this rich vein of ore, is more than fifteen miles, in a direction from southeast to northwest; and, within this distance, there are upwards of one hundred shafts opened. These mines formerly supplied with ore, and kept at work, two thousand amalgamating-mills, and have produced silver to the amount of seven millions seven hundred and twenty-seven thousand five hundred dollars, annually. The most productive of these mines, was that of Valenciana, which raised a town about it of 22,000 inhabitants; now however, reduced to four thousand, in consequence of the vast excavation of the mines being filled with water. Zacatecas, situated in a mining district, three hundred miles north by northwest of Mexico, contains, according to Humboldt, thirty-three thousand inhabitants. Queretaro, is a large and well built manufacturing town, situated in a fertile valley, near the rich tract of country called Baxio, with a population of thirty thousand inhabitants. Oaxaca lies near the east bank of Rio Verd, two hundred and thirty-seven miles south by southeast of Mexico, and contains twenty-four thousand inhabitants.

San Luis Potosi, a neat well built town on the head of the Rio Panaco, contains about fifteen thousand inhabitants. Among the remaining interior towns, are Valladolid, containing eighteen thousand inhabitants; Durango, situated in a mining district, at the elevation of six thousand five hundred and sixty feet above the level of the sea, is the capital of a province of the same name, and contains a population of twelve thousand inhabitants.

Chiuahua, the capital of the Province of Chiuahua, a large city, is represented by late travellers to contain thirty thousand inhabitants, and to be about four hundred miles north of Durango. Santa Fe, is situated in lat. 36, 30, north, on the east bank of the Rio del Norte, about one thousand miles northwest of the City of Mexico, with a population of nine thousand, according to late travellers. The chief town in Yucatan, is Merida, with a population of ten thousand. Tepec, a large and beautiful town, situated a few miles from San Blas, a seaport on the Pacific. Vera Cruz and Acapulco, are seaports; the former, lying on the Gulf of Mexico, in lat. 19 deg. 12 m. N. is built on an arid plain, and is destitute of running water; but is a handsome regular built city, and contains a population of about sixteen thousand inhabitants. The fortress of San Juan de Uloa, is on an island near the town. The maritime custom-house of Vera Cruz, was established in 1530. Vera Cruz has rather a bad anchorage, than a harbour; and all the eastern coast is exposed to hurricanes during the winter.

Acapulco, is on the Pacific, in lat. 16 deg. 50 m. north; its harbour is one of the best on the Pacific coast, but the situation is very unhealthy, and the population is much reduced from what it formerly was. The town is protected by an extensive and formidable fortress, called the Castle of San Carlos. A maritime custom-house was established at Acapulco, as early as 1562. In addition to the two seaports which we have mentioned, it appears by recent information that there are nine other places, on both oceans, invested with port privileges. Alvarado, Campeachy, Tampico, Altamira, Sata, Tamarina, and Refugio, on the Atlantic coast; and Mazatlan, Guaimas, and San Blas on the Pacific.

Roads and Canals.—The roads in Mexico are deficient, and very bad. There are three principal roads—that of Vera Cruz, of Acapulco, and of the interior. The superb road or causeway undertaken by the consulado of Vera Cruz was finished in all the difficult passes of the mountains, from that place to Perote, and from Puebla to the capital; the intermediate distance between Puebla and Perote, being tolerably good. This road was not only neglected in consequence of the war, but many of the bridges were broken down, and the pavement taken up, to prevent the march of armies; and the torrents from the mountains have washed the road into gullies. These injuries have

been partially repaired, and money raised to complete the road over the Pinal, the most difficult part of the rout from Perote to Puebla.

The important road from the capital to Acapulco, is in a state of ruins, having received no repairs since the commencement of the revolutionary war. In many places it is impassable, even for mules; deep and rapid rivers are to be forded for the want of bridges, when fatal accidents often happen to travellers and mules. The government, sensible of the importance of this road, have adopted measures for repairing it; but it is expected, at a future time, to give it a more commodious direction.

The famous canal of Huehuetoca, is the only one in Mexico. It was designed, as has already been observed, to afford an outlet to the waters of the river Guantillau, to prevent their flowing into the lake Zumpango, which discharged its waters into lake Christoval, and the latter into Tezcuco, which inundated the capital. Subsequently a canal has been partially opened to convey the waters of the Zumpango, to the great canal of Huehuetoca, and another to convey the waters of lakes Tezcuco and Christoval to the same canal; but to effect this object it is necessary that the great drain of Huehuetoca should be deepened so as to reduce its level to that of the lake Tezcuco.

Since 1814, the Cortes of Spain, decreed the opening a canal by means of the rivers Guasacualo and Chimalapa, to connect the waters of the two great oceans, which would give a new direction to the commerce of a large portion of the world. They charged the execution of this great enterprize to the Consulado of Guadalaxara; and afterwards believing that that corporation could not accomplish this great work, it was proposed to invite foreigners to invest their capital in it. And since the establishment of the present government in Mexico, proposals have been made by foreign houses, to execute this vast work, which have been submitted to the congress. As the government is disposed to favour this object, there are grounds to believe that this great enterprzie, calculated to work a greater revolution in commerce than was immediately occasioned by the discovery of America, will be commenced under circumstances which will insure it success.

Government.—The Spanish colonial system, was in its theory or principles, a most absolute and despotic govern-

ment; and rendered more oppressive by the corruptions and abuses of power, which had been introduced into every department of the administration. Some account of this system is given in the sketch of the history of Spanish America, previous to the revolution, which we will not repeat here. The colonists were deprived of all political rights, except what was strictly municipal; they were denied all the advantages of commerce and manufactures, and even agriculture was subjected to discouraging and onerous restrictions. The colonial system was founded on the principle, that the colonies were in a state of minority and tutelage, and were to be governed not for their own benefit, but for the advantage of their parent, who without regard for the future well-being of his offspring, in the exercise of parental authority, thought only of rendering it most conducive to his own immediate interest. Among the abuses of the system was the practice which had long prevailed of conferring the offices exclusively on European Spaniards, to the entire exclusion of the creoles or Americans, notwithstanding it was declared, in the original compact between the king and the first settlers, that after the first discoverers and conquerors, the settlers, and those born in the provinces, were to be preferred in all appointments and public employments. This practice seems to have resulted from the consideration that the colonies were not governed for their own advantage, but for the benefit of the parent state. But whatever may have been the cause of this unjust and impolitic practice, it was the fertile source of the division of the white population into two parties: the natives of Spain and those born in America, and of the long-established and inveterate animosities, which existed between them. All the officers of government being sent from Spain, the inhabitants could view them in no other light than as their oppressors, and as having been imported for that express purpose. The possession of power and the favour of the government, rendered the Europeans haughty and insolent, as is always the case with a privileged class, and this tended still more to exasperate the feelings of the creoles. And hence the long, bitter, and sanguinary wars of the late revolution.

If there ever was a people in a state of political bondage, of oppressive and degrading servitude, it was the Spanish colonies. Fortunately for them, for the cause of liberty, and the honour of America, circumstances favoured their

emancipation, and *they are now free*. The struggle has been long, arduous and bloody, characterized by a spirit of bitterness and animosity, which spread desolation over the fairest portions of America, and in some districts almost swept away the entire population. The independence and liberty of Spanish America, has been dearly purchased; it has been bought with the best blood of the country, and this has flown freely. In Mexico, after a destructive war for twelve years, the royal government was finally overthrown without a struggle. But this only established a new and ephemeral tyranny, in the person of Iturbide, who had been the instrument of crushing the Spanish despotism. Whilst he was at the head of affairs, the government acquired no stability, and only presented a constant struggle for power on his part, and resistance on the part of the congress. Aided by numerous partizans, and having the army at his command, he finally succeeded, and established himself a despotic ruler. But his reign was as short as it was inglorious. The people were not satisfied with a change of masters: they wished for freedom and the right of self-government, and had they failed in this, the vast sacrifices of the revolution would have been lost. The capricious tyranny of Iturbide soon occasioned general disaffection; and being disgusted with the retrograde movement in the revolution, the people resolved that it should go forward to its consummation. Iturbide was overthrown, the old congress were convened, and soon a new congress was elected, composed exclusively, not only of the friends of the independence of Mexico, but of a republican government—of a government of the people.

Soon after the congress was convened in November 1823, a committee was appointed to prepare a constitution, and on the 19th of the same month, they reported a "constitutive act of the Mexican Nation," which, after undergoing some slight alteration, was adopted in February following. This act contains the form and principles of the government of the Mexican Nation; but seems to suppose that these principles are to be promulgated in a different form. The government thus established is a "Confederative Republic," and not only in its general outline, but in its subordinate divisions of power and minute features, has a striking similarity to the constitution of the United States. The only difference in principle between the Mexican constitution, and that of the United States, is in

the third article, which establishes the Catholic Roman Apostolic Religion, and declares that the nation will protect it by wise and just laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other. This is very different from our constitution, which declares "that congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," and certainly inconsistent with the liberal and enlightened principles of the constitution in which it is embodied. It is supposed, however, that the condition of the population, and the influence of the clergy, was such in Mexico, as not to admit of a more liberal provision on the subject of religion. There is one other particular in which the constitution differs from ours, which we will notice. The congress is authorised, in times of national danger, to create a dictator, for a limited time, or in other words "to grant extraordinary powers to the executive, for a limited time, upon a full knowledge of the cause." There is probably no actual danger in this provision, yet at the same time it may be safely asserted that no such principle would be sanctioned by the people of the United States.

Since the establishment of the present system, the government has been organised, has acquired stability, and been gradually completing the great objects and reforms of the revolution, and repairing, as fast as time and the condition of the country would admit, the dreadful evils of the revolutionary struggle The system, like ours, comprises a general and national government and separate state governments; and the latter have generally been organised since its adoption. It does not appear, from the constitutive act, whether the senators of the general congress are to be chosen by the legislatures of the states or by the citizens; but the number is fixed at two from each state, and it is presumable that they are to be chosen by the states in their corporate capacity.

Military and Naval Resources.—In 1822 the military force consisted of ten thousand seven hundred sixty-four troops of the line, and thirty thousand militia: the militia have been greatly increased and undergone a new organization since the establishment of the republican government, and are now supposed to be very numerous. The army has likewise been increased, and placed on a better footing. The estimated expenses of the war department for 1825, to sustain the army on the footing ordained

by congress, was twelve million of dollars. Liberal appropriations have already been made by the government for the creation of a navy; the building of which appears to be already progressing, as the expenses of the naval department for 1825 were officially estimated at three million of dollars; some of the ships for this navy are said to be building at the city of New-York.

Finances and Expenditure.—Previous to the revolution, the revenue of New Spain, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, amounted to about twenty millions of dollars; of which five and a half millions, arose from the duties on the produce of the mines; four, from the government monopoly of tobacco; three from the customs and alcabalas; one million and a half from the tribute or capitation tax, paid by the Indians; and the remainder from an excise on the domestic liquor called pulque, the sale of powder, stamps, cards and papal indulgences; from the post office, the farming of cockfighting, and some other small sources of revenue. At least one fourth of this large revenue was expended in the military establishment for the defence of the country, which consisted of ten thousand regular troops, and twenty thousand provincial militia. Of the regulars, four thousand were cavalry; who together with the infantry were stationed at the military posts to check the incursions of the Indians, and for some years before the revolution to keep down the spirit of the people. The geographical features of the country are such as to render it easily defensible against an external enemy. That part of the establishment which consisted of the militia was little more than nominal.

The revolutionary struggle not only greatly increased the expenditure, but greatly impaired the revenue and destroyed public credit. Whilst Iturbide was at the head of the government the treasury was exhausted, and he was constantly harrassing the congress to provide ways and means to pay the army, and relieve the exigencies of the treasury; and when the present government was established, it found the treasury empty and the revenue in the most deplorable condition. According to the report of the financial minister in March 1823, the only resource of the treasury was the sale of three hundred thousand dollars worth of tobacco, to satisfy the numerous demands against the government. The present administration the support of which is the distinguished patriot Guadeloupe Victoria, are making the most

noble and patriotic exertions to retrieve the condition of the revenue, by introducing a most rigid system of economy on the one hand, and by improving and increasing it on the other; by which means they hope to extricate the government from its pecuniary embarrassments, and place its finances on a safe foundation. In a report of the present minister of finance, made in November 1823, after unfolding the deplorable condition of the treasury and finances, he says:—

"This melancholy and alaming picture induced the minister to represent the state of the finances in the manner he did in his memoir of the second of June. The present executive has used every means to redeem the nation from this critical and deplorable state. They adopted a totally different system—they suspended entirely the forced loans and heavy contributions about to be exacted—stopped the emission of paper money, and adopted the most rigid economy in every branch of the administration; giving themselves an example of simplicity and frugality. The most beneficial consequences have resulted from this conduct: but the prosperity of the country is retarded by the dissentions that exist in the provinces. It cannot be said that for the last six months any one has been compelled to loan money: nor have any heavy burthens been laid upon the people. If the merchants have generously and gratuitously furnished the government with funds, they have been compensated by receiving a tenth of the product of the customs; and of fifty two thousand three hundred fifty-seven dollars received in the months of April and June, they have been paid thirty-six thousand one hundred forty-three dollars; and the debt will be entirely discharged this month. The paper money has been in part reduced by receiving a sixth part in payment of duties; so that the dollar which was not worth more than twenty-five cents, is now worth seventy-five—a certain sign of the state of public credit.

From the first of April to the end of last September, the receipts of the Treasury were, . . . $ 1,213,513 04
Disbursments in the same period, . . . 1,200,681 17

Due on the civil and military lists, . . . 12,831 05
305,927 07

Debts, ... 293,096 02

Payments made to redeem the paper medium within the same epoch, were . . .	732,168 10
	439,071 08
Monies received from Mr. B. Vigors Richards on account of a loan, ...	88,009 05
	351,062 03
Debt contracted in the preceding twenty-five months, ...	$5,936,549 08

The minister proposes as sources of revenue, to retain the monopoly on tobacco, which formerly has produced four millions; the duty on stamps estimated at three hundred thousand dollars; the excise on pulque and other liquors, which has produced nearly seven hundred thousand dollars, but in 1822, yielded only two hundred and three thousand nine hundred thirty-nine dollars; and the duties on gold and silver. The revenue from this last source, formerly the principal one, is greatly diminished, from the depressed state of the mines; the tenth formerly exacted, was reduced in 1822, to three per cent. He proposes a duty of fifty cents upon each head of black cattle that is slaughtered; twenty-five for each sheep, and fifty for each hog; he also proposes to increase the duty on domestic liquors; to abolish the alcabalas or duty on the sale of produce and merchandize, as being oppressive and yielding but little to the revenue; to dispose of the property of the inquisition, and that formerly belonging to the Jesuits, which had not been sold, which he estimates at two milllions four hundred five thousand six hundred forty-five dollars. The post-office and lotteries, which had been separate departments, he proposes to unite into one, to save expense, and to reduce the expences of the mint, which for the six preceding months, had been an expense to the government of twenty-one thousand eight hundred thirty-five dollars. The minister proposes to reduce the tariff, or imposts on imports, to twenty-two or twenty-three per cent, including the consulate duty. At that time the impost was twenty-five per cent exclusive of the consulate duty. He is in favour of restrictions on foreign importations, and thought the articles of merchandize incorrectly classed in the existing tariff. The revenue from imports, from the first of

April to the first of September in 1823, he states at nine hundred seventy-one thousand three hundred forty-five dollars, an increase of one hundred seventy-seven thousand eight hundred eighty-four dollars, over the revenue during the same period of time, the preceding year. He proposes to abolish the duty on exports as it respects articles of most importance, which he enumerates, and finally reccommends the collection of the revenue on the model or plan of the United States.

The following statement exhibits the receipts and expenditure for the six months preceding the report, and the estimated receipts, with the proposed changes in the system, for one year, and also the estimated expenses. According to this statement, the revenue exceeds the expenditure a little more than one million.

"The receipts of the Treasury for the last six months amount to		$6,418,814
The disbursments were as follows:		
Expences of the monopolies of tobacco and gunpowder, and of the mint, ...	$2,893,403	
Expenses of all the other departments, ...	2,697,630	
Total expenditure for six months,	5,591,033	
Contingencies, ...	827,781	
		$6,418,814
Receipts for one year, ...		12,837,628
Proposed augmentation:—		
On tobacco, ...		648,836
On stamps, ...		268,135
On imports and exports, ...		500,000
On excise on pulque, and other liquors, and on meats, ...		1,000,000
		$15,254,599
Expenses:—		
Foreign affairs, ...		360,878
Administration of Justice, ...		159,023
Treasury, ...		3,351,485
Army, ...		9,922,782
Navy, ...		473,014
		$14,267,182

By an official report of the minister of finance, in 1825, the whole expenses of the current year is estimated at eighteen million dollars, and the revenue only amounting to ten million six hundred thousand dollars, leaves a deficit of more than seven million of dollars; to supply this, the report proposes the establishment of the rents on the manufacture of tobaoco, and the duties on gold and silver in bullion and coin, which it is supposed will nearly supply the deficit.

Population and Character of the Inhabitants.—The population of Mexico has been derived from three sources or races, the Europeans, the Indians, and the Africans or negroes. The population at present consists of two great divisions, the whites, and the people of colour. The former is subdivided into natives of Spain, called chapetones, or gachupines, and those born in America, called Creoles. The white population previous to the revolution, was estimated at one million two hundred thousand, of which only seventy or eighty thousand were natives of Europe, about one fourteenth part of the white inhabitants. Since the independence of the country and establishment of a free government affording equal political rights and privileges to all classes, this distinction is disappearing, and in a few years must be wholly lost. The people of colour, comprise the greater part of the population, and form three divisions; the Indians, the Africans and the casts or mixt races. The number of Africans is very small, less than in any other part of America under the torrid zone, and has been estimated not to exceed six thousand. The Indians have been constantly decreasing, and the casts or mixt races continually increasing, and have been estimated at two million four hundred thousand, comprising at that period nearly one half of the whole population. There are various casts, but the Mestizos, or descendants of a white and an Indian, compose the principal part. Their skin is of a pure white colour, with a peculiar transparency; their beard thin, their hands and feet small, and they have an obliquity of the eyes. The offspring of a Mestizos, and a white, differs very little from an European. The descendants of an Indian and Negro, are called Zambos or Sambos, and the descendants of a white and a negro, are called mulattoes. There are various other casts, or mixtures with different shades of colour, and different degrees of European blood. The whiteness of the skin, or rather the pureness of the blood,

formerly determined the rank of every person, and this was a matter of so much importance, that families often obtained from the high court of justice a decision or declaration establishing their whiteness or European blood.

The population of Mexico, was estimated by Humboldt, in 1803, at five million seven hundred eighty-three thousand seven hundred and fifty; and it is now estimated by the best authorities after deducting five hundred thousand for the destruction of the revolution, to be about six million five hundred thousand. To this may perhaps be added the population of Chiapa, amounting to one hundred and twenty-eight thousand.

The Creoles in general possess good natural talents, and a great facility of acquiring knowledge; they are extremely mild and courteous in their manners, kind and benevolent towards each other, and hospitable to strangers. They are very patriotic, and much attached to the great cause of independence and liberty. Their besetting sin is gambling. The Creoles possess most of the property, hold the principal offices of the government, and in the army since the establishment of the republic, and comprise most of the professional men and the merchants, as well as those that are fond of literature and science.

The people of colour comprise, the labouring classes, a considerable part of the soldiers; many of them are orderly and industrious and make good citizens and soldiers. Some of this class, acquire property, and are respectable, and many of them have been much devoted to the cause of liberty, and their country, whilst others are indolent, ignorant, wretched and filthy. This is said to be particularly the case with part of the population of the city of Mexico, where a portion of the inhabitants called Leperos, are notorious beggars, thieves and pickpockets, and much addicted to drunkenness. All classess of the people are said to be fond of smoking to excess; females, as well as the men and boys. This custom appears to be common to most of the Spanish American Countries.

Education and institutions of learning.—Under the dark shade of despotism, when there was neither a free-press, or free enquiry, when it was the policy of the government to keep the people in ignorance, little could be expected of science or learning. But even the regions of despotism, did not prevent occasional sparks of science from being elicited, which often kindled into a blaze. The

Creoles possess very lively and active intellects, and apprehend the principles of science with facility; and with all the disadvantages under which they have laboured, they have afforded some scholars, who have done honour to the age in which they lived. In the capital, the mathematical sciences, chemistry, mineralogy and botany, have been cultivated with success. In mathematics, they can boast of the illustrious names of Valasques, born in 1732, a self-taught astronomer, of Gama, his fellow-labourer, and Alzate, all of whom possessed genius of the highest order; in chemistry, M. Sesse and M. Echeveria were distinguished for their extensive acquirements; and in sculpture they can boast of M. Tolsa, whose equestrian statue of Charles the fifth, is considered as superior to any similar work extant, except that of M. Aurelius at Rome. Alzate, a man of ardent genius, published a literary gazette at Mexico, to diffuse a knowledge of the physical sciences, and excite a spirit of learning among his countrymen. The mathematics were extensively taught in the university of Mexico, and also in the Mineria or school of mines. Besides these, there are several colleges, academies of fine arts and schools; and it has been said, that Mexico had more solid, scientific institutions, than any other town in America, not excepting the United States. Many of the young Creoles visited Europe, for the purpose of travelling, or to complete their education, and thus acquired a taste for literature, the arts, or for the sciences.

During the colonial system, in the cities, most of the people were taught to read and write; but in other settlements, instruction was greatly neglected. Since the revolution, a different policy prevails, and a new impulse has been given to education and the diffusion of knowledge. The dynasty of ignorance has ended, and the reign of intelligence commenced, under favourable auspices. The policy of the old government was to keep the people in ignorance; that of the present is entirely different; it declares that "without education, liberty cannot exist; and that the more diffused is the former, the more solidly cemented will be the latter." The solemn annunciation of this important truth has induced the government, amidst all its pressing concerns and pecuniary embarrassments, to do every thing in its power to promote an object so essential to the prosperity of the republic. Provision has been made for the establishment and support of primary schools;

which are entrusted to the city councils. They have generally been established ; but in some places they have not, for the want of funds, and in others they are almost useless, from the incapacity of the teachers and the lowness of salaries. In the capital, a society has been founded under the patronage of the government, for the purpose of introducing the system of mutual instruction, or Lancastrian plan of education ; and a school has been established in a convent, capable of containing sixteen hundred scholars. It is the design of government to have other societies formed in the different cities on the same model, and for the same objects as the one in the capital. The government has not neglected the higher branches of education, but has appointed a committee of enlightened men to inquire into the condition of the universities, colleges, academies and libraries, which will enable the congress to adopt the proper measures for their melioration and encouragement. Among the means for the diffusion of knowledge, which owe their origin to the new order of things, that of the establishment of newspapers is by no means the least important. The government has also adopted another regulation, which is worthy of imitation ; it has ordered that in each city there shall be established, in the city-hall, a public reading room, to be supplied with the laws and public documents by the government, and by newspapers and other valuable periodical works, by small subscriptions among the inhabitants.

Religion.—Protestant nations have left Roman Catholic countries (with perhaps the exception of France) at a distance behind them, in the moral and intellectual sciences, in politics, in the diffusion of knowledge and those improvements which promote the freedom and happiness of individuals and the prosperity of nations. Hence it is inferred, that the Roman Catholic religion is not favourable for intellectual and scientific exertion. There are two reasons for this ; the first is, that its spirit is intolerant, and calculated to stifle mental inquiry and exertion ; the second, that it is a religion of external forms and ceremonies, pompous and imposing, which serve to engross the attention, and by confining the mind to external objects withdraw it from intellectual. In a word, it is calculated to enslave the mind, and when that is fettered, little improvement can be expected.

From the early settlement of Spanish America, the established hierarchy has been both an instrument and a cause

of oppression. Whilst it strengthened the despotism of the government, it added a darker and deeper shade to it. Clothed with power and armed with the Inquisition, its influence was great, and always exerted on the side of the government, and was a principal cause of the ignorance of the people. The ecclesiastical establishment in Mexico was formed on the same model as that of Spain, and had its full train of dignitaries. The inferior clergy were divided into three classes; the *curas*, who are parish priests, employed in the settlements; the *doctrineros*, who had the charge of districts inhabited by Indians, subject to the Spanish government; and the *missioneros*, who were employed in converting the Indios Bravios, or wild tribes, not reduced under the Spanish yoke. Many of the inferior clergy suffered extreme poverty, whilst the incomes of some of the high dignitaries exceeded that of many of the sovereign princes of Germany. The archbishop of Mexico enjoyed an income of one hundred and twenty-one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five dollars, and several of the bishops but little less; at the same time that some of the priests, in the Indian villages, received only the pittance of twenty or twenty-five pounds sterling. The clergy in Spain, previous to the revolution, amounted to about thirteen or fourteen thousand, one half of which were regulars, and wore the cowl.

The clergy were violently opposed to the revolution, and were the principal cause of the long struggle and of the successful efforts of the government for twelve years. After the Cortes in Spain undertook to reform the ecclesiastical establishment in the peninsula, the clergy in Mexico declared against the Spanish Cortes, and became in favour of a revolution; and their influence was by no means the least considerable in bringing about the plan of Iguala.

Whilst the revolution has regenerated Mexico, in every other respect, and swept off the colonial despotism, with all its train of corruptions and abuses, it has as yet done but little to relieve the nation from the thraldom of an established hierarchy and the worst of all despotisms, that of superstition, which is an enslavement of the mind.

It is declared, in the third article of the constitutional act, "that the religion of the Mexican nation is, and shall be perpetually, the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman. The nation protects it by just and wise laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other." This provision but little accords with the

free, just, and liberal principles of the constitution of which it composes a part, and casts the only dark shade on the luminous political horizon of the nation, and its fair prospect of a splendid career of moral, political and social advancement. The Mexican congress is an enlightened body, and we may suppose that, like Solon, when giving laws to Athens, it thought this provision was as perfect as the nation was *prepared to receive*. Whilst this constitutional principle remains, it will obstruct the free exercise of religion, the freedom of inquiry, and the enjoyment of the rights of conscience ; but will not prevent the government from reforming the ecclesiastical establishment and correcting its inveterate abuses, the growth of time and despotism. This necessary work of reformation has already been commenced.

HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTION IN MEXICO.

CHAPTER VIII.

Causes which led to the revolution—Junta of Seville sends deputies to America—Junta established in Mexico—Conspiracy against the Viceroy—Regency of Cadiz—Hidalgo raises the standard of revolt—takes Guanaxuato—The Viceroy attempts to conciliate the people—spirit of the revolution spreads rapidly—Military preparations of Hidalgo—organizes his army—Revolutionists are excommunicated—Hidalgo threatens the capital—he retires—is attacked by the Royalists—retreats to the town of Guanaxuato—is defeated—retires to Guadalaxara—is defeated with great loss—betrayed—taken prisoner and executed.

PREVIOUS to the revolution, the Viceroyalty of New Spain was divided into the Captain-generalcies of Mexico and Yucatan ; and also into two Commandancies-general, and was subdivided into twelve intendances and three provinces.

The territories of Tlascala and Queretaro are in the limits of New Spain, but were not included in the intendances or provinces. The military authority of the Captain-general of Yucatan was independent of the viceroy ; but in every other respect his authority extended over the whole viceroyalty.

As it was in the territories forming the Republic of Colombia, that the great drama of the revolution was first opened by actual hostilities, and as it was there the contest was most obstinate and protracted ; and the final triumph of the popular cause having been the means of the liberation of other parts of Spanish America, Co-

lombia seems to possess a higher revolutionary character than any of the other republics.

In treating, therefore, of the contest in that republic, we have given a more full and explicit view of the causes and events of the revolution, as it respects Spain and her colonies generally. Consequently, in the account of Mexico, and the other republics, we shall confine ourselves, in a great measure, to local occurrences and events.

The first revolutionary movements in America were caused by the cessions at Bayonne, in 1808, by which the crown of Spain and the Indies was transferred to Joseph Buonaparte; and as all regulations, respecting Spanish America, must be approved of by the Council of the Indies, a decree of that Council transferred the dominions of Spain, in America, to Buonaparte, in confirmation of the cessions at Bayonne. Buonaparte sent to America agents, to communicate to the Spanish chiefs, and through them to the people, the political change which had taken place, and to demand their allegiance. All the Spanish chiefs, with the exception of the Viceroy of New Spain, seemed willing to yield to this revolution, and acknowledge the supremacy of Buonaparte; they being all assured of retaining their places. At this period, it was the *people*, and not the royal governors, who shewed their loyalty; they were shocked at the thought of being transferred, like so many cattle, to another master, and that master Napoleon Buonaparte, who had done so much to oppress their parent country. They were indignant, too, at the foul treatment which their sovereign had received. An unusual ferment was excited among the people, the proclamations of Buonaparte were burnt, and his agents, glad to quit the country, to save their lives. This spirit prevailed, in a greater or less degree, throughout Spanish America. A similar spirit soon disclosed itself, also, in old Spain, and a general revolt of the inhabitants against the authority of the Buonapartes, occurred in the peninsula. Intelligence of this reached Mexico on the 29th of July, 1808. It immediately raised the feelings of the people into the highest enthusiasm. In Spain, juntas were established in the different provinces, for their government and security. The junta at Seville, styled itself the supreme junta of Spain and the Indies; several other of the provincial juntas claimed the like superiority, which led to dissentions in the peninsula, and distracted the Americans, so that they knew not which

to acknowledge, as entitled to their allegiance. Before the enthusiasm had subsided in Mexico, the deputies sent by the junta of Seville, arrived in America, to demand the sovereignty of the country; and to induce the colonies to yield obedience to the junta, the deputies represented, that its authority was submitted to, throughout the whole of Spain.

Such was the hostility of the people against the French, and their loyalty and zeal towards their sovereign, that they seemed ready to acknowledge the authority of any tribunal in Spain, although self-created, which claimed their allegiance in the name of their king. A meeting was called of the civil and military officers, and a general disposition prevailed to recognise the pretensions of the Seville Junta; but during the debates on the question, despatches were received from the Junta of Asturias, in Spain, denouncing the ambitious views of the Andalusian Junta, and warning the Mexican government, against acknowledging its pretensions. The regency which Ferdinand had established at Madrid, on his leaving the country, also claimed the supreme power in Spain and America. These numerous tribunals in Spain, claiming the supreme authority and the obedience of the colonies, and denying each other's claims, produced distrust among the Americans, and placed them in a perplexing dilemma. The power of the monarchy was overthrown or suspended, and there being no government in Spain, not even a government *de facto*, which could claim their obedience, or afford them protection, their situation suggested the necessity of providing for their own security, by the establishment of some provisional government. The *Cabildo*, or municipality of Mexico, on the 5th of August, 1808, presented a memorial to Iturrigaray, the viceroy, for the assembling of a junta, from which we make an extract:—

"Juntas of the government, and respectable bodies of the cities and kingdoms, are no more than in exact conformity to the law, which ordains that all arduous cases shall be considered of in general assemblies. As in existing circumstances, in consequence of the seizure of the king, the sovereignty is vested in the nation in order that its interests may be consulted, the united authorities, together with the municipalities, which are the heads of the people, do exactly the same as would the monarch himself for the general welfare.

" Mexico has in view the same principles that influenced Seville, Valencia, and the other cities of Spain; and she is empowered, in like manner as the above two faithful capitals, to do what she conceives is advisable in such urgent circumstances.

" These examples point out what ought to be done—to organize a governing junta, composed of the royal audiencia, the archbishop, municipality, and deputies from the tribunals, ecclesiastical and secular bodies, the nobility, and principal citizens, as well as the military. This junta shall deliberate on the most weighty subjects that concern us, which shall be determined conformably to our interests.

" The junta is necessary, for, although we are at present free from the urgent danger which threatened us on the side of France, we, nevertheless, ought not to neglect our means of defence, till we receive such positive advices, as may place us perfectly at ease. It is, at the same time necessary to satisfy the wishes of the people, by restoring to them those means they formerly had of appeal to the Council of the Indies, or to the person of the king; and, finally, many amendments ought to be made in the nomination to secular and ecclesiastical dignities. These are the only means, in consequence of the absence of the monarch, by which the kingdom, being thus united, may overcome all its difficulties.

" This union of authorities is likewise necessary, as being the best means to produce unanimity in the minds of the people; which will prevent the fatal consequences which must arise throughout the country from disunion. Every one will then be happy; their patriotism and wishes will be united by love, enthusiasm, and a sense of the public good.

" The city, consequently, thinks that the time is arrived for adopting the same means as have been carried into effect in Spain. The junta which your excellency is to form, for the present, of the authorities and respectable bodies above mentioned, when the representatives of the kingdom are assembled, will carefully examine its interests, &c.

" But the two fundamental points on which the junta is to act, ought not to be forgotton. The first is, that the authorities retain the full extent of their power, in the same manner as if the derangement which we deplore in the monarchy had not taken place; that is, that your excellency

shall still hold the same power which the laws grant, and that the same be observed with respect to the other tribunals. The second is, that in order to fill up the immense void which exists between the authority of your excellency and the sovereign, the proposed junta is to be had recourse to."

The viceroy felt himself embarrassed in his situation, and knew not how to act. His advanced years, and want of vigour, rendered his conduct indecisive and temporizing. He was inclined to grant the prayer of the petitioners, thinking the measure reasonable and just; but was afraid of the Spaniards, who he knew were violently opposed to it. In this dilemma, he proposed to resign his authority. The Spaniards, knowing his inclination to favour the views of the popular party, taking advantage of the indecision and weakness of the old viceroy, formed a conspiracy against him, and by bribing the officers commanding the guards, about four hundred of the conspirators entered the palace of the viceroy, at midnight, on the 15th of September, 1808, seized him and his lady, and committed the latter to a nunnery and the former to the prisons of the inquisition. The conspirators consisted, principally, of the Spanish merchants in Mexico, and they were secretly favoured in their designs by the court of audience; and the annunciation of the imprisonment of the viceroy was connected with a suggestion of the appointment of his successor by the royal audience.

A central junta was established in Spain, composed of deputies from all the provincial juntas, which possessed the supreme and national authority. The violent proceedings in Mexico were not only approved by the central junta, which received the intelligence whilst in session at Seville, but the junta manifested great joy that the viceroy, who had favoured the wishes of the creoles, had been deposed and imprisoned, without considering the danger of the example, or the evidence it afforded, of the feebleness of all sentiments of subordination. These high-handed measures of the European faction, greatly exasperated the creoles against the Spaniards in Mexico, and tended to produce disaffection towards the rulers of Spain. The authority of the central junta, although illegal, (as the laws required that in case of a suspension of the royal functions, the government should be vested in a regency,) was, nevertheless, submitted to by the colonists, and large sums of money remitted from America to Spain, which enabled the

Spaniards to carry on the war against the French. The appointment, by the central junta of Spain, of the archbishop, a mild and popular man, to the viceroyalty, greatly conciliated the affections of the Mexicans, and preserved tranquillity, notwithstanding much indignation continued against the Spaniards, who had been engaged in the conspiracy. This indignation was increased by the honours which the central junta lavished on the European faction, and their insolent conduct towards the Americans, which this occasioned. In this state of things, the people were alarmed by the removal of the archbishop and the entrusting the powers of the government, until the arrival of the new viceroy, to the court of audience, the members of which the inhabitants regarded as their enemies. Victory had followed the imperial eagles in Spain, the Spaniards had been every where defeated, the French occupied nearly the whole of the peninsula, and the central junta was dispersed. Some of its members retired to the Isle of Leon, and vested their authority, which they could no longer retain, in a regency, which published a proclamation, addressed to the Americans, and pretending to possess supreme authority in Spain, claimed dominion over the colonies, and promised to redress their grievances. The authority of the regency was considered as entirely illegal, and as little better than self-created. Caraccas and other provinces, refused to acknowledge it.

The regency, commonly called the Regency of Cadiz, named Don J. Venegas as viceroy of New Spain, and conferred fresh honours and additional rewards on the Spanish faction, which, like fuel added to an enkindling flame, contributed to spread disaffection through the whole country. The troops, which in time of war are constantly stationed between Mexico and Vera Cruz, to repel an attack on the coast, after Iturrigaray was deposed, were ordered into the interior. A regiment of cavalry was sent to Queretaro, and three captains in that regiment, named Allende, Aldama, and Abasolo, were natives of the town of San Miguel el Grande, situated near the town of Guanaxuato, two hundred and ten miles from Mexico.

In the vicinity of the town of San Miguel, is that of Dolores, in the Intendancy of Guanaxuato, in which resided Don Miguel Hidalgo Castilla, a clergyman, distinguished for his talents and learning, for his liberal sentiments, and his extensive general intelligence. He had taken great

pains to instruct and better the condition of the Indians, which gained him their attachment, and from the urbanity of his manners and the beneficence of his conduct, he was popular with all classes of the inhabitants. A particular friendship subsisted between Hidalgo and Allende, Aldama, and Abasolo. Hidalgo, perceiving the general disaffection of the people, throughout the viceroyalty, and the prevailing animosities against the Spaniards, conceived a plan of general insurrection, for the overthrow of the colonial government. The time said to have been fixed upon for the rising, was the first of November, 1810. His plan was communicated to his three friends, Allende, Aldama, and Abasolo, who readily joined Hidalgo, and by their activity and exertions, sentiments of disloyalty were rapidly and extensively disseminated. Every circumstance was laid hold of which might tend to inflame the animosity of the natives against the Spaniards and alienate them from Spain. The disaffection had been spread extensively, and the plan in a great degree matured for execution, when one of the conspirators, a canon of Valladolid, on his death-bed, discovered the plan to a priest, of the name of Gil, residing at Queretaro. This information was conveyed to some of the members of the *audiencia*, and led to the arrest of the corregidor, Dominguez, who was falsely charged with being engaged in the conspiracy. Alarm was instantly spread among the conspirators, who, fearing that their plan was discovered, hastened its execution. Allende was the first to raise the standard of revolt; he assembled, at San Miguel, a few soldiers, who were attached to him, and set out for Dolores. The disaffected flocked to his standard, in his route, so that when he arrived, on the 14th of September, 1810, he was at the head of eight hundred men. Hidalgo, the same day, preached to the Indians, and pointed out the oppressions which they had suffered from the Spaniards, since the first discovery of the country; the tyranny and rapacity of the Spanish chiefs in America, and the present distracted condition of Spain, without any settled government, exposed to anarchy, and the danger there was that it would fall under the dominion of the French, and America be either delivered up to the French or the British, which would destroy the holy catholic religion. He concluded his discourse by calling on the Indians to arm in defence of their religion, and to redress their grievances. A summons to arms came with an odd grace from the pulpit,

but nevertheless was obeyed implicitly and with alacrity. The Indians flew to arms with fury, and uniting with the recruits of Allende, they proceeded, with Hidalgo at their head, to San Miguel, and commenced hostilities by plundering the houses of the Spaniards. Here two squadrons of the regiment of cavalry de la Reyna, to which Allende had belonged, joined the insurgents, and Hidalgo immediately marched to Zelaya, where he was also joined by the principal part of the regiment of infantry de Zelaya, and by part of a regiment of horse.

Thus re-enforced, Hidalgo proceeded to Guanaxuato, a populous and wealthy town, containing eighty thousand inhabitants, and situated one hundred and eighty miles north and west of Mexico. The governor of the Intendency, Rioro, attempted to oppose him, but, his troops having declared for the revolutionists, he retired with two hundred Spaniards into a building, and fired on the assailants. But having no troops for the defence of the town, it fell into the hands of Hidalgo on the 29th of September, 1810, and was an acquisition of no small importance, as he found in the treasury five millions of dollars, consisting of specie and bar silver.

Venegas, the new viceroy arrived in Mexico on the 16th of September, 1810, and in a public meeting of the principal inhabitants, proclaimed the honours and rewards which the regency had bestowed on the conspirators against Iturrigaray, who were regarded by the inhabitants, as the enemies of their country and the emissaries of Spain. In a few days the viceroy obtained intelligence of the insurrection, and of the success of Hidalgo. He immediately despatched Count de la Cadena to Queretaro, a populous town and an important military position. The inhabitants of this town amounting to nearly eighty thousand, were in favour of the revolutionary cause, and were desirous of joining Hidalgo, which was an additional reason why the viceroy was anxious to prevent its falling into the hands of the insurgents, which he did by a timely arrival of royal troops. Venegas, alarmed at the threatening aspect of the insurrection and the extent of the disaffection, attempted to conciliate the people, and on the 23d September, 1810, issued a proclamation, referring to the decree of the central junta of Spain, in 1809, which declared the colonies to be equal with the mother country, and promised that the cortes, would soon make such reforms in the government of

America, as would promote its prosperity, and satisfy the reasonable wishes of the people.

Hidalgo in the first exercise of his high functions of a chief or ruler, abolished the tribute or capitation tax, paid by the Indians, which so animated their hopes and attachments, that they flocked from all parts to join him, and he soon found himself at the head of a numerous body of men. To oppose the revolutionists, Venegas formed several corps of *Guerrillas* of Spaniards, who however, from their violence and rapacity injured the royal cause, and he was obliged to disband them. He also established corps of militia, not entirely composed of Spaniards, which he called *patriotas*. The spirit of the insurrection spread rapidly from town to town; producing general disaffection, and the revolutionry cause extended and strengthened daily. The towns of Lagos celebrated, from the fact, of a great fair being held there every five years, and Zacatecas, from its situation near some of the richest mines in Mexico, and many others, declared in favour of the revolution. Hidalgo remained at Guanaxuato, long enough to introduce a little discipline among the multitude who had collected around the revolutionary standard; forming them into corps, and appointing the necessary officers. He also established a mint, fabricated cannon of wood, and one of brass, with this inscription engraved upon it, *el Libertador Americano*, the liberator of America. His greatest difficulty was to obtain arms, for his multitude of Creoles, Indians and mixed bloods, who resembled a caravan, more than a regular army, had only a few muskets, but were armed with pikes, knives, hatchets, blunderbusses, slings and all sorts of weapons. Hidalgo marched from Guanaxuato to Valladolid, and entered the town on the 20th of October, 1810. There he was received as a deliverer, and greeted with shouts of joy and gratitude, by the inhabitants. The civil and ecclsiastical authorities of the town, conferred upon him the highest honours, and treated him with every mark of distinction; but what was more important to Hidalgo, they presented to his military chest, one million two hundred thousand dollars. Two regiments of militia were formed, and joined the popular leader. Hidalgo fell back on Indaparapeo on the 2d of October, where he called a military council, to improve the organization of his army; numerous promotions were made; Allende was appointed captain-general, Aldama, Ballesa, Ximenes and Arias,

were appointed lieutentant-generals, and Abasolo, Ocon, and the two brothers, Martines, field-marshalls. Hidalgo was proclaimed generalissimo of the Mexican armies; and as such reviewed the troops which were now divided into eighty regiments of one thousand men each. Mass was performed on the occasion, and a solemn *Te Deum* sung. Regulations were adopted for the pay of the army; three Spanish dollars a day was to be the pay of each infantry colonel and captain of cavalry; each cavalry soldier was to receive one dollar, and each infantry soldier half a dollar per day. Hidalgo assumed the ensigns and habilliments of his new dignity; his military dress was blue with red facings, embroidered with gold and silver; and a black sash embroidered with gold. A medal, with an image of the Virgin de Guadaloupe, highly venerated by the Mexicans, was worn on his breast, and the colours were white and blue, in resemblance of the banners of the ancient Emperors of Mexico, and as a memento of the former independence of the country.

Having made the necessary arrangements, Hidalgo at the head of a vast army, commenced his march towards the capital, and on the 27th of October, 1810, entered the town of Toluca, thirty-six miles west of Mexico.

A storm was now gathering over the capital, which was in iminent danger of falling into the hands of the revolutionists; disaffection prevailed extensively in the city; the populace, and a considerable part of the higher orders, hated the Spaniards and detested the government. The royal forces were at a distance from the capital, and from each other; Don F. Calleja was stationed at San Luis de Potosi, with a brigade, three hundred miles from Mexico. Count Cadena had three thousand troops at Queretaro, and the viceroy had but a handful of men for the defence of the capital, against Hidalgo, and to overawe the inhabitants. The fall of Mexico was apparently inevitable; but at this alarming conjuncture, the viceroy not being able to rely on the military rulers, called on the ecclesiastical: as he had not the power of the sword, he called to his aid the power of superstition. He applied to the archbishop of Mexico, and the officers of the inquisition, to obtain a bull of excommunication against Hidalgo, and all his followers, as rebels and heretics. Accordingly excommunications, with all the form and solemnity of hierarchal craft, were fulminated against them, denouncing them as apostates from the holy

church, and rebels against the state; and as obnoxious to the vengeance of both the state and church, and the wrath of the Almighty. To support their denunciations, the inquisition declared, that accusations had been made against Hidalgo ten years before, to the holy office; but that he then had the address or good fortune, to escape the punishment which his crimes merited. Hidalgo by a manifesto replied to the excommunications of the archbishop, and the edict of the inquisition, proclaimed his own sentiments of belief, and exposed their inconsistency and absurdity. These excommunications had no effect on Hidalgo's troops, as being himself a priest, he seized the spiritual weapons of his adversaries, and turned them on themselves. He persuaded his adherents, that the sentence pronounced against them, proceeding from their enemies, could have no effect; and that the excommunication would undoubtedly fall on the heads of those who pronounced it, as a punishment for their presumption. But these terrible weapons of the church, were not without their influence on the people; the inhabitants of Mexico, and the provinces which were not yet infected with the spirit of the insurrection, were perfectly tranquil, and seemed petrified with terror.

The viceroy had sent his aid-de-camp colonel Truxillo, with fifteen hundred men, to Istahauca, to check the advance of the insurgents, which were afterwards re-enforced by five hundred more; and when Hidalgo entered Toluca, the royalists fell back on Lerna, twenty-seven miles only from Mexico. Here Truxillo fortified a bridge across the river Lerna, and intended to dispute the passage with the revolutionists; but Hidalgo having crossed the river at a different place, Truxillo retired to an eminence, called *El Monte de las Cruces*, where the patriots attacked him, and drove him from his position. Whilst on his retreat to Mexico, Hidalgo sent envoys to Truxillo, with proposals for him to join his party; he admitted the deputies within his lines, and then ordered his soldiers to fire on them The royalists continued their retreat, and entered the capital on the 30th of October, having in their flight left their artillery behind. The intelligence of the defeat of the royalists at Monte de las Cruces, reached Mexico, accompanied with the report, that the revolutionists were entering the city, which produced great alarm; and the consternation was increased by intelligence that Morelos, a priest at the head of a body of independants, had taken possession of several

towns in the south of Mexico, and that Villagran, another popular leader at the head of a large force, was marching towards the capital. Whilst the opposers of the government were thus numerous and increasing, there were but about two thousand royal troops at the capital, and no information had been received where the main army of the royalists under Count Cadena was.

Under these appalling circumstances, perceiving little prospect of defending the capital, the viceroy and the Spaniards were preparing to retire to Vera Cruz should the enemy prevail. Venegas prepared to make the best defence he could, and drew up his troops between two public walks, within the city, but stationed his artillery at the entrances into the town. On the 31st of October, 1810, the independents were observed, by the inhabitants, with secret joy, (as their hearts were with them) descending the hill Santa Fe, as it was supposed to attack the viceroy, who was at the head of his troops, prepared to meet them. Hidalgo sent General Ximenes with despatches to the viceroy, who met him in a magnificent carriage, attended by forty horsemen, three miles from the city, and delivered his message, which was not answered, nor its contents ever known, as the viceroy took care to conceal them from the people. In the city, alarm and anxiety, hope and fear, pervaded every breast, and all supposed the capital would be stormed; the great body of the inhabitants wished for the success of the independents, but they dared not express their sentiments or make known their feelings. After an anxious night, all were surprized the next morning to see the assailants retiring. The cause of this was at the time inexplicable, nor has it ever been fully explained; but it is supposed that Hidalgo had received information of the defeat of the patriot general, Sanchez, at Queretaro, and of the junction of the royal troops, under Calleja, with the army of Count Cadena, and that these united forces were advancing, by forced marches, for the relief of the capital. Some, however, have attributed the retreat of the independents to the moderation of Hidalgo, and his natural antipathy and horror at the violence and devastation of war—most excellent qualities for a general.

Hidalgo retired in confusion to a hill, which overlooks the village of Aculco and an extent of country on the north and east. He placed his cannon on the sides of the hill, which was of nearly a rectangular form, and drew up his

troops in two lines, stationing his undisciplined Indians between them. Here he was attacked, on the 7th of November, of the same year, by Calleja, who had previously reached the capital, with the main part of the royal army. The royalists advanced to the attack in five columns against the north and east side of Hidalgo's encampment. There were six thousand of the royal troops, disciplined veterans, and being well armed and equipped, made a splendid martial appearance, which so frightened the Indians that they fled the instant the firing commenced. This disconcerted the regular troops, they made but a feeble defence, and abandoned the position in disorder. They were pursued by the royalists with great fury and immense slaughter; ten thousand of the independents, in the official report of Calleja, were said to have been killed, wounded, and made prisoners. The patriots retreated to the town of Guanaxuato, which is situated on an eminence and fortified by a defile, through which the road passes, leading to the town. Here they were attacked by Calleja, on the 24th of November, and driven from their position, with the loss of twenty-five pieces of their cannon, of which the Liberator was one. Some of Hidalgo's troops, exasperated at the attack and success of the royalists, put to death two hundred Spanish prisoners. The royalists, the next day, stormed and took the town, and delivered it up to the pillage and rapacity of the soldiers for two hours; and the day following, as the closing scene to this tragical drama, all the officers who had been taken, and many other prisoners and citizens, were shot. Among the latter, were the mineralogists, Chovel, Davalos and Valencia. A proclamation was issued by the Spanish general, ordering all arms and ammunition to be delivered to the government within twenty-four hours, on the pain of death, and threatening all with the same punishment who supported the rebellion, or entertained opinions favourable to it.

From Guanaxuato, Hidalgo marched towards Guadalaxara, which is four hundred and fifty miles from Mexico; and during his route he had numerous skirmishes with parties of the royal army, and in many of which the patriots were successful. Hidalgo entered Guadalaxara, a populous town, containing ninety thousand inhabitants, and immediately despatched Mercado, a priest, against the port of San Blas, which capitulated, and a large number of cannon fell into the hands of the patriots, and Mercado sent

forty-two pieces to Hidalgo, at Guadalaxara. At this time, the authority of Hidalgo was acknowledged in the intendancies of Valladolid, Zacatecas, San Luis Potosi, and part of Sonora. Whilst Calleja was marching in pursuit of Hidalgo, the royalists, under General Cruz, defeated the independents at Zamora, which enabled him to take the town of Valladolid, where a scene of the most dreadful cruelty and bloodshed was exhibited. Hidalgo chose an advantageous position, thirty-three miles from Guadalaxara, where he encamped his army, which was protected on one side by a hill, and on the other by a small river; the bridge across the stream he fortified, and erected many batteries on the summit of the hill, and two, to defend the army on the left. In this position Hidalgo waited the approach of Calleja, and determined to give him battle. The royal general did not decline the engagement, but as soon as he arrived, made preparations for attacking the independents in their position. He divided his army into two columns, one of which stormed the batteries on the hill, and took them; the other column attacked the left side of Hidalgo's encampment, and were repulsed. But whilst retiring to its first position, it received a re-enforcement, and engaged the cavalry of the patriots, who, perceiving its retrograde movement, had attempted to surround it. Hidalgo now made a charge on the royal cavalry, who, being supported by the grenadiers, repulsed him with great loss. Calleja in person stormed and carried the battery which alone prevented his penetrating into the enemy's camp; and at the same time, Emparan attacked and routed the cavalry of the independents. Consternation now spread through the camp of the independents, which rendered unavailing all further exertions to retrieve the fortune of the day. This defeat occurred on the seventeenth of January, 1811. Calleja sent General Cruz to re-capture San Blas, which he found already in the possession of the Spaniards, by means of a counter revolution, brought about by the curate of the town. Having rallied the remnant of his army, Hidalgo marched to Zacatecas, where he found a considerable quantity of cannon, there being a brass-foundry in the town. Here he made a new coinage of silver, still retaining the "image and superscription" of Ferdinand the Seventh. The independents marched to San Luis Potosi, where Hidalgo was re-enforced by several corps of guerrillas, which he formed; and from thence he moved towards the town of

Saltillo, in the military government of the *Provincias Interas Orientales*, and about six hundred miles from Mexico. Calleja had reached San Luis Potosi, in pursuit of Hidalgo; a body of royalists under Arredondo, had arrived at Altemira, and the governor of the eastern internal provinces, had sent troops to hem in and cut off the retreat of Hidalgo. It was his intention to have escaped with such of his partizans, as would follow his fortunes, to Louisiana, and to resume the war for the revolution of the country, when more favourable circumstances might occur. The situation of the popular chief, surrounded with enemies on all sides, was critical, and his escape attended with sufficient hazard, without a Judas to betray him into the hands of his enemies. He was, however, destined to be the victim of treachery. Don Y. Elisondo, who commanded a body of independent troops, had the baseness to attempt to purchase a pardon for himself, by arresting Hidalgo, and having drawn several officers into his plan, he attacked him at Acatita de Bajan, whilst pursuing his course unsuspicious of danger, through a friendly district of the country; from which circumstances, he was easily overcome. Hidalgo and his followers were made prisoners, on the twenty-first of March, 1811; fifty-two of them were executed on the field of action, the next day; and ten more, including Hidalgo, were sent to Chiguagua, where they were put to death on the 27th of July following, Hidalgo having first been divested of his clerical orders.

CHAPTER IX.

The war continued by several patriot chiefs—they are attacked at Zitaquaro—they create a junta—surrender and massacre at Zitaquaro—success of Morelos—destruction of Quautla—Morelos is defeated—massacre of prisoners by the royalists—Morelos convenes a congress—they frame a constitution—arrival of Mina—penetrates into the country—Apadoca appointed viceroy—attempts to conciliate the inhabitants—siege of Remedios—capture and execution of Mina—fall of Remedios—civil dissentions among the patriots—Guadalupe Victoria.

The fatal and sad termination of the career of Hidalgo and his associates, did not terminate the revolution, or discourage the other chiefs engaged in it; which is evidence that its spirit had taken deep hold of the minds of the people. The most active and powerful of the revolutionary leaders who remained, were Don Y. Rayon, a lawyer, Don N. Villagran, and Don. J. Morelos, a priest. Rayon had taken a station at El Saltillo, to favour Hidalgo's retreat; and on learning of his defeat and capture, he fell back on Zacatecas, having in his march defeated a body of royalists, under Ochoa. Here he released three Spanish prisoners, and sent them to the viceroy, with proposals for an accommodation. His terms were, that a congress should be formed, consisting of half Spaniards and half Americans, to decide on the best means of putting an end to the war, and restoring tranquillity to the country. The Spanish ruler returned no other answer, but that, if he would lay down his arms, he should be included in the general *indulto*, or amnesty, which the cortes had granted in 1810. This act of the cortes, promised a total oblivion of all that had taken place during the revolution, to all who would lay down their arms, and desist from aiding the rebellion. But this act of oblivion had been so totally disregarded by the Spanish chiefs in America, and only used by them as a snare, to entrap those they wished to destroy, that instead of conciliating the disaffected, it had tended to inflame their minds against a government, which could be guilty of such base duplicity and treachery. In Mexico, so en-

tirely destitute were the people of any confidence in the faith or promises of the viceroy, that he was obliged to get the church, or *cabildo ecclesiastico*, to endorse his proclamations, and to attempt to persuade the people that his promises were not designed to ensnare them.

"On this account," says the cabildo ecclesiastico, in a pastoral charge addressed to the clergy, on the 17th of May, 1812, "his excellency the viceroy, the worthy and legitimate representative of our catholic and most Christian King Ferdinand the Seventh, has had the unparalleled goodness, not only to authorize us to be the guarantees and trustees of the indulto or general pardon granted to the insurgents, but also to permit us to grant to you likewise the power, reverend brethren, as by these presents we do, to offer, promise, and assure, in the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and in the name of the Virgin of Guadalupe, protectress of this kingdom, and in the name of the Christian and Catholic king Ferdinand the VII. and of his viceroy in these kingdoms, that a general pardon shall be duly granted to all those who, repenting themselves of their past faults, are now willing to lay down their arms," &c.

Rayon, being pursued by Calleja, retreated into the Intendancy of Valladolid; and the patriot colonel, Lopez, at the head of a party of guerrillas, fortified the town of Zitaquaro, where he was attacked on the 22d of May, 1811, by a body of royalists, under Torre and Mora, who were repulsed with loss, and the two commanders slain. This victory encouraged the independents to act on the offensive and Lopez marched against Valladolid, and attacked the place on the 4th of May; but was repulsed by Truxillo, who commanded the royalists in that place. Rayon joined Lopez, and established his head-quarters at Zitaquaro, where he was attacked by the Spanish general Emparan, on the 30th of June. The conflict was extremely sharp and bloody, and resulted in the complete route of the royalists, with the loss of eight hundred men and all their baggage. Emparan retired with the remnant of his forces to Toluca, and the patriots elated with the victory, again attacked Valadolid on the 23d of July, but with no better success than before.

The cause of the revolution was now evidently gaining ground; and it was supposed, that a plan for a general revolt throughout Mexico, was matured and that it would soon

take place; the viceroy received many threats and denunciations. Numerous persons were arrested, accused of being concerned in the conspiracy, a part of whom were brought to trial; six were condemned and sentenced to be executed, and six others sentenced to hard labour at Puerto Rico; two women were among the number found guilty of conspiring against the government, and condemned to imprisonment for a term of time. These condemnations took place in the month of August. At this period Rayon established a junta, for the government of the country, consisting of himself, Doctor Berdusco and Don J. M. Liceaga, which nominally, at least, acknowledged the authority of Ferdinand, and published their acts in his name. Calleja, the moment he received intelligence of the creation of this junta, at Guanaxuato, his head-quarters, issued a proclamation offering ten thousand dollars each, for the heads of the junta; and the viceroy, greatly alarmed at this measure, and regarding it as the harbinger of a general rising of the people, ordered Calleja to make an immediate attack upon the insurgents at Zitaquaro. This town is one hundred and twenty miles from Mexico, situated in a valley, and surrounded by high mountains. It contained ten thousand inhabitants, and the principal object in attacking it, was to seize the members of the junta. For this purpose, Calleja ordered Polier, commanding at Toluca, to drive the independents from their position on the Tenango mountain, previous to his attack on Zitaquaro, to cut off their retreat. Calleja attacked Zitaquaro, on the second of January 1812, and the place being strong by nature, and well fortified, made a resolute defence, but was taken by the royalists after three hours hard fighting.

"The rebels," says Calleja in his official account of the action, "had added to that state of natural fortification in which Zitaquaro was placed all that art, despair, and eight months continued labour could contribute. The defeat of the two preceding expeditions had so much encouraged the people, that even women and children now united in repelling our attack. All, however, has yielded to the intrepidity of the army under my command.

"The enemy being completely routed, fled away in every direction, leaving the surrounding country covered with their dead and wounded. The rebels, *cabecillas*, Rayon, Liceaga, and Berdusco, had previously made their escape, and taken the road towards Tasco; nor has it been in my

power to pursue them, my troops being already exhausted with fatigue, and the roads in a very bad state.

"The quantity of military stores is immense which we found in the town. I will send your excellency an exact list of them, as well as of the cannon which we took from the enemy. I now merely confine myself to that information more immediately necessary to convey to your excellency, that it is owing to the valour and exertions of my officers as well as of my men, that the engagement was so short. Their good conduct in this attack has exceeded even what they have displayed on former occasions, and our loss has been inconsiderable.

"My stay here will be as short as possible, and before my departure I will erase every vestige of the town from the face of the earth, that I may, by this means, punish the criminal instigators of so barbarous, impolitic, and destructive an insurrection, and give an example of terror to those who might otherwise be willing to support it."

The contest had now assumed a character peculiarly savage and horrible; the war was not only a war of death, but of desolation. Vengeance, blood and destruction seem to have filled the minds of the royal chiefs, who were as weak as they were destitute of every sentiment of justice or humanity, in supposing that "examples of terror," and destruction, would restore tranquillity to a distracted country. After the capture of Zitaquaro, Calleja published a decree,*

* The following is the decree referred to:—

"1st. It is decreed that the Indians of Zitaquaro and its department, shall be deprived of their property, as well as of those immunities and privileges which the extreme beneficence of the government had granted them.

"2d. This forfeited property, as well as that of those South Americans who have taken part in the insurrection, who accompanied the rebels in their flight, or who left the city at the entrance of the king's troops, to be placed in the public treasury.

"3d. If those who are included in this decree will present themselves to me, giving proofs of repentance, and of willingness to contribute to repair the roads, &c. they shall receive their pardon; but property cannot be restored.

"4th. The capital of this department is to be transferred to Marabatio, where a military government is to be established; and the people are to be compelled to arm, equip, and support companies of infantry and cavalry for the defence of this department.

"5th. Monarchical government being hated by the inhabitants of this criminal town, who have supported three engagements against the king's forces, and having found the heads of many of our chiefs

depriving the Indians of that department, of their property and immunities, declaring the property of all Americans who had taken any part in the insurrection, or who fled from the city on the entry of the royal troops, to be forfeited; transferring the capital of the department to Marabatio, and ordering the town of Zitaquaro razed to the ground, allowing the inhabitants six days only to leave it, with their moveables, which they were permitted to take "as a proof of mercy;" and threatening the same destruction against any town which should harbour either of the members of the junta. The scene of horror and distress, which this decree, conceived in the true spirit of Vandalism, produced, surpassed the power of imagination, much more that of description.

The fall of Zitaquaro and the dispersion of the patriots, did not terminate the struggle: nor did the dreadful examples of terror, induce the independent chiefs, to throw down their arms and sue for peace and pardon. Morelos, Villagran, Canas, Aldama and other popular leaders, still commanded corps of guerrillas in different parts of New Spain. The members of the junta, took refuge at El Real de Zultepec, a town situated on a steep mountain, about ninety miles from Mexico; from whence they proposed to the

who sacrificed their lives for the public good, placed on poles at the entrance of the town, we decree that every building in Zitaquaro shall be razed to the ground, or destroyed by fire. Every inhabitant to leave the town within six days; and as a proof of mercy, I permit them to take their moveable property.

"6th, Every inhabitant to receive from the government a written testimonial of his name, family, and day of his departure. Any person remaining in the town after the time fixed for departure, or not having provided himself with the requisite testimonial, to be put to death.

7th. All arms to be given up to the government, under the penalty of death.

"8th. The clergy to be sent to the bishop of Valladolid.

"9th. An absolute prohibition is made against rebuilding the town of Zitaquaro, or any other town which may in future be destroyed to punish rebellion.

"10th. Any town or village admitting either of the three members of the insurgent junta, or any of their delegates, or who shall refuse to surrender them to the king, or attempting to resist the king's troops, are subjected to the above mentioned penalties.

11th. The Count de Casa-rul is entrusted with enforcing this decree.

"CALLEJA."

viceroy terms of accommodation, which received as little attention as the proposals of Hidalgo and Rayon. The terms of reconciliation were contained in an address of the junta to the Spaniards of the 29th of March 1811, in which they recapitulated their grievances, and proposed a plan, in case the royalists did not choose to comply with their terms of accommodation, for carrying on the war, in a manner less barbarous and destructive.

Morelos possessed an efficient army, and was obeyed throughout nearly the entire southern coast of Mexico. He had defeated the royalists in various skirmishes and engagements, one of which was bloody and decisive, fought on the 19th of August, 1811, at Tixtla; after which he besieged Acapulco, with a small part of his army, but marched with the main division towards Mexico. He took possession of the town of Izucar without opposition; and in the mean time a division of his army, commanded by General Bravo, defeated the Spanish general Musitu, and took possession of the town of Quautla Amilpas, seventy-five miles south of the capital. Morelos also occupied the towns of Huexapan, and El Real de Tasco. The Spanish colonel Soto, attacked the town of Izucar on the 17th February, but was repulsed with loss, and himself so dangerously wounded, that he was obliged to retire from the command. He was succeeded by Llano, who on the 22d renewed the assault, and was also repulsed; yet he succeeded in gaining possession of a hill, from which he bombarded the town. In this attack were employed the first troops which had been sent from Spain to Mexico, since the commencement of the revolution. Calleja attacked Morelos in the town of Quautla Amilpas, on the 19th of February, 1811, and after a severe action of six hours, was compelled to retire. This defeat exasperated Calleja, and he swore vengeance against the town of Quautla and its inhabitants, and made great preparations for renewing the attack. Llano was ordered to raise the siege of Izucar and join him, who on his march defeated several parties of guerrillas In the mean time, the patriots, who had been re-enforced, were assisted, by the whole population of the town, and were making the utmost exertions for its defence. The rage of the Spanish general, is in some degree evinced by a letter which he wrote to a friend whilst encamped before Quautla on the 15th of March 1812.

"We will precipitate this town and its inhabitants into the very centre of hell, whatever exertion or fatigue it may cost us. The enthusiasm of these insurgents is unparalleled. Morelos, with a prophetic countenance, gives his orders, and whatever they may be, they are always punctually executed. We continually hear the inhabitants swear that they will be buried under the ruins rather than deliver up the town. They dance around the bombs as they fall, to prove that they are fearless of danger."

The town of Quautla is situated on an eminence, in a plain, and commands a view of the adjacent country. It had been so strongly fortified by Morelos, that Calleja was obliged to relinquish the plan of conquering it by storm, and to attempt to reduce it by a siege. This having been continued for some time, provisions began to fail, which induced Morelos to make a sally, from the hope, that this might enable the parties of guerrillas, which were harrassing the besiegers in the rear, to convey provisions into the town. On the night of the 23d of April, field-marshal Matamoros with one hundred horse, forced the enemy's line, but no supplies were procured by the movement. The town not being able to hold out much longer, for the want of provisions, as a last effort, Morelos, attacked the enemy's camp on the 27th, aided by the guerrillas; but the patriots were repulsed, with the loss of nearly one thousand men. After the siege had lasted seventy-five days, the precise time of that of Mexico, when taken by Cortez, and all hopes of obtaining provisions, being extinguished, Morelos resolved to evacuate the place, and on the night of the 2d of May, 1811, the Independents marched out of the town, together with most of its inhabitants. A corps of two thousand infantry, formed the advance, next two hundred and fifty horsemen, followed by nearly five thousand lancers and slingers, between whom, and the rear guard which consisted of a corps of fusileers, was placed the inhabitants, comprising nearly the entire population of the town. Calleja soon discovered the movement of the Independents, and commenced a spirited attack upon them, which occasioned a most shocking slaughter among the unarmed, and in a great degree unprotected inhabitants, who were fleeing for their safety. Four thousand of the patriots were slain, principally the unfortunate inhabitants of Quautla. Calleja in his account of the slaughter, says,

that the dead bodies of the enemy covered the ground for twenty miles in extent, and that he lost only twenty men.

Morelos retreated to the town of Chilapa, which he took by storm; Tehuacan next yielded to him, and Orizaba shared the same fate. Here he set fire to the tobacco in the royal magazines, of the value of several millions of dollars. On the 25th of November, Morelos attacked and captured the town of Antequera the capital of the Intendency of Oaxaca, where the patriot-officers, Palacios, Tinoco, Lopez and Armenta had been shot by the royalists. Morelos resolved to retaliate, and executed on the spot lieutenant-general Gonzales Saravia, brigadier-general Bonavia, and two colonels, of the Spanish prisoners in his possession. The remains of Lopez and Armenta, were then disinterred, and conveyed in triumph and deposited in the cathedral. Morelos soon after captured Acapulco, and a numerous corps of guerrillas under Guadalupe Victoria, stationed at different positions between Xalapa and Vera Cruz, cut off the communication between the latter place and the capital.

Rayon having made an unsuccessful attack on Toluca, retreated to Tenango, fifty-four miles south-west of Mexico, situated on a mountain, from which he was driven by the royalists, who succeeded in avoiding the batteries that defended the ascent to the town, the beginning of June, 1812. All the prisoners, taken by the Spaniards, were shot. The national junta, which had taken refuge in the town of Zultepec, withdrew from that place, and either accompanied the army under Rayon, or remained in towns, in the neighbourhood of it, and to which it afforded protection. Near the close of the year 1812, Don J. M. A. Toledo, who had been a member of the cortes in Spain for Mexico, arrived in the United States, and in conjunction with Don B. Gutierrez, then at Washington, in the capacity of commissioner, or agent, from the new government in Mexico, to the government of the United States, formed a plan for invading the eastern provinces of New-Spain, from the United States. They engaged some citizens of the United States to join the expedition, and set out for the *Provincias Interas*, and having entered the Spanish territories, they were reinforced by some guerrillas; they obtained some advantages over the royalists, and took San Antonio de Bejar, the capital of the Province of Texas. But they were attacked in January, 1813, and completely

dispersed by Don N. Arredondo, military commander of the internal provinces. Toledo made his escape to the United States. An attack was made by Morelos on Valladolid in December, 1813; but the royalists being re-enforced by a body of troops under Llano, the independents were defeated, and retreated to Puruaran, whither the royalists pursued them, and an engagement took place on the 7th of January, 1814. The battle having commenced before the dawn of light in the morning, unfortunately two divisions of Morelos' troops fought each other until the appearance of light discovered to them the fatal mistake, which paralized all their efforts, and rendered them an easy conquest to the enemy. Matamoros, Morelos' lieutenant, a very active and brave officer, and seven hundred men were made prisoners. Morelos made every effort to save Matamoros, and offered to exchange for him, and his staff, five hundred Spaniards which Matamoros had himself taken a short time before. But the blood-thirsty royal general declined this offer; and immediately ordered Matamoros and the seven hundred prisoners shot, which he must have known would expose the lives of the Spanish prisoners, in the possession of the patriots, at Acapulco, which Morelos by way of retaliation put to death.

The Spaniards at this time, had a powerful force; the royal army consisted of four strong divisions, and from the vigourous conduct of Calleja, who was now appointed viceroy, they drove the revolutionists from the principal part of the country. Morelos, Rayon, Doctor Cos, and some other of the patriot chiefs, however, kept the field and occupied a considerable part of the provinces of Guanaxuato, Valladolid and Zacatecas; Liceaga, fortified a position on the Lake Chapala, where he repulsed the royalists in several attacks made to dislodge him.

In hopes to revive the spirits of the inhabitants, Morelos called a congress, consisting of forty members, which opened its session at Chilpansingo, ninety miles south of Mexico, and was afterwards removed to Ario, about one hundred and thirty-five miles from the capital, where it declared Mexico independent, and constituted a triplicate executive, consisting of Morelos, Liceaga and Cos. From thence the congress was transferred to Apatzingan in the province of Valladolid. There on the 23d of October, 1814, they offered to the people a democratic constitution, and on the 25th issued a decree prescribing the oath of

allegiance, to all who were to enjoy the benefits of the new government. These proceedings increased the rage of the royal governors, and the constitution and decree, were publicly burned at Mexico, on the 25th of May following, and the punishment of death denounced against all who should retain in their possession any copies of the constitution, or refuse to deliver them to the government. Morelos found that the establishment of a congress, and the resignation of his power to it, instead of promoting, injured the cause and greatly embarrassed his operations. When he, or any of the generals, proposed any military plan of action, the long discussion which it must undergo in the congress, not only occasioned delay, but often defeated the object, and finally led to mutual jealousy and distrust, between the civil and military authorities.

Many privateers were fitted out under the authority of the new government, which supplied the armies of the patriots with arms and ammunition, through the port of Boquilla de Piedra, in the Gulf of Mexico. Being no longer able to maintain himself in the Intendency of Valladolid, and receiving intelligence that Toledo, and General Humbert had arrived, with arms and ammunition at El Puente del Rey, situated between Xalapa and Vera Cruz, and which was fortified by the Independants, Morelos determined, to retire into that province, and the congress and a large portion of the inhabitants resolved to accompany him.

The expedition had more the appearance of a vast caravan, or the migratory incursions, of those nations of the north of Europe, which overrun the Roman Empire, than that of a regular army, on its march. The royalists pursued and hovered round this vast multitude armed and unarmed, but made no general attack. Morelos had separated himself from the main army, to cover the retreat and with a body of cavalry lay at a place called *Tepecuacilco*, of which, the royalists obtaining information by their spies, attacked him by surprise, and after a short conflict he was defeated and made prisoner on the 5th of November 1815. Morelos was carried to Mexico, deprived of his clerical orders, accused of heresy, but acquitted of that charge by the Inquisition. On the 22d of December, he was shot in the back as a traitor, in the village of San Christoval, eighteen miles from the capital, the viceroy not

daring to execute the sentence in the city, for fear it would excite the people to rise.

The congress convened at the city of Tehaucan, in the province of Puebla, where Teran, an independent officer, commanded a considerable body of troops. Here on the 17th of November, they sent to Calleja a despatch, imploring him to spare the valuable life of Morelos, which he did not condescend to answer. The loss of Morelos was irreparable; the congress had great difficulty in supplying his place as a member, and president of the executive department; the place was demanded by Teran, whom the congress did not seem disposed to appoint, and serious disputes arose. Teran being provoked, and taking advantage of the existing disputes, dissolved the congress by force in December, which arbitrary act proved very fatal to the cause of the patriots. There was no longer, any national authority, unity of power, or concert of action; but the military officers in the different provinces acted as independent chiefs, and the war languished until the arrival of General Mina in the autum of 1816. Mina was a nephew of the celebrated general of that name, so distinguished for his patriotic devotion to his country, and the constitutional cause in Spain, and the long and successful resistance he made against the French and the Spanish royalists. He sailed from Liverpool with a small expedition in May 1816, having seven thousand stand of arms, and equipages for two thousand infantry, and five hundred cavalry, and arrived in the United States in June. Here he obtained some officers and additional muskets, and sailed for the gulf of Mexico. Having suffered much in the passage from unfavourable weather and disease, he landed at Galvestown in November, where he was joined by Aury, the commander of the privateers in that quarter, and by some of the inhabitants. Having organized his forces, he proceeded to Soto la Marina, and entered the place without opposition. Here he constructed a fort, and left a small garrison for the protection of his military stores, and on the 24th of May, commenced his march for the interior of the country.

At this time, the revolution was at the lowest ebb, and little or no resistance was openly made to the Spanish government, except in the internal provinces; there were, however, some guerrillas, in other parts, that kept the field. Calleja had been succeeded, as viceroy, by Don Juan R. de Apadoca; and the new viceroy departed from the policy

of his predecessors, who had attempted to govern, solely by fear and terror. Sensible that the cruel and bloody career of Calleja was not calculated to restore tranquillity to a distracted country, where all was war and desolation, he resolved to try a different line of conduct, and attempt to conciliate the affections of the inhabitants, and to regain their confidence. This conciliatory policy, was attended with great success, and almost put an end to the revolution, in the capital and that part of Mexico. But the spirit of independence was suppressed, not extinguished, and it was renewed by the invasion of the country by Mina. When he commenced his march, his whole force, including officers was three hundred and eight men; with which he encountered a body of the enemy, on the 8th of June, 1817, near Valle del Mais, routed them, and entered the town. He made no stay, but continued his march with great expedition, being desirous to unite with the independents, in the interior, and on the 14th of June, he encamped at the hacienda de Peotillas. Here he was attacked by a force, greatly superiour, but his heroic band, few in number, but brave in spirit, directed and encouraged by their gallant leader, not only defended themselves, but compelled the enemy to abandon the field with a heavy loss. In this action, Mina proved himself to be a brave and skilful officer, and acquired the highest confidence of his followers. Continuing his march, on the 18th, he stormed and took the town of Real del Pinos, although defended by a garrison exceeding his own force; and on the 24th of June, he reached Sombrero, where he found the forces of the independents, having marched six hundred and sixty miles, in thirty-two days. His troops had endured the greatest fatigue, and almost every hardship and privation; but being animated by their commander, young, gallant and popular, who shared himself in all their sufferings and wants, no murmurs or complaints were heard. When Mina arrived at Sombrero, he had two hundred and sixty-nine men, rank and file. Here he wrote to the junta which had been established, acquainting them with his object in invading the country, and offering his services in the cause of independence; he also wrote to Padre de Torres, who was regarded as commander-in-chief of the patriots.

Mina learnt that a body of royalists, amounting to seven hundred, were in the vicinity, and leaving the fort under the command of Don Pedro Moreno, he marched in con-

junction with a guerrilla, commanded by Ortis, of one hundred men, to meet the enemy. His whole force amounted to four hundred men, with which he did not hesitate to engage the royalists, drawn up at the hacienda, de los Llanos. So spirited and vigorous was the charge of the independents, lead on by Mina, that the enemy yielded before them, and fled in disorder, with the loss of half their number left on the field. After the troops were refreshed by a few days repose at Sombrero, Mina and Moreno penetrated as far as Xaral, sixty miles from Guanaxuato, and surprised and took the place, in which they found immense booty.

On his return to Sombrero, Mina received intelligence of the surrender of Soto la Marina to the royalists, commanded by Arredondo, governor of the internal provinces. Following up their success, the Spaniards invested Sombrero. The patriots made an obstinate defence ; but it being evident the place could not hold out much longer, Mina left the fort and proceeded to General Torres, in hopes of obtaining some troops for the relief of the besieged, in which he did not succeed. A few days after he left the place, the patriots were compelled to evacuate it, and had no other means of escape but by cutting their way through the lines of the enemy. Fifty only survived who joined their leader at Los Remedios, the head-quarters of General Torres. The royalists under General Linan, marched against Remedios and invested the place on the 31st of August, which was defended by Torres, assisted by some of Mina's officers : Mina, at the head of a body of cavalry, marched towards Guanaxuato, and captured the hacienda of Biscocho, and the town of San Luis la Paz. He also advanced against the town of San Miguel le Grande, and commenced an attack upon it, but retired on receiving information that a strong force of the enemy was marching to the relief of the place. He retreated to the valle de Santiago, where he was joined by many patriots, so that he soon was at the head of one thousand cavalry. With this force, Mina set out for the relief of Remedios, but learning that the besiegers were stronger than he had supposed, he deemed his force insufficient for the purpose, and retired to the mountains near Guanaxuato, being pursued by Orrantia. The Spaniards carried on the siege of Remedios with great vigour ; yet Mina continually harrassed them with his cavalry and cut off their supplies. But at length he was at-

tacked by Orrantia at the hacienda of La Caxa, and defeated with a heavy loss. He retired to a small town called Publa Nueve, twelve miles from the scene of action, and attempted to rally the fugitives, who had escaped, but with little success, as most of them returned to their homes. In this forlorn condition he proceeded to Xauxilla, to obtain from the government of the independents, which was then fixed at that place, some troops to resume his military operations. He proposed attacking Guanaxuato; and after considerable opposition to his plan it was agreed to, and he was supplied with a small body of troops. With this force he marched to the valle de Santiago, where he was re-enforced by a few men from Xalapa, waiting to join him; but the approach of a detachment of royalists compelled him to withdraw from the valley. By a rapid movement through the mountains, he descended in the rear of the royalists and marched to La Coxa; and from thence he proceeded by a rapid march across the country during the night, to an obscure place called La Mina de la Luz. Here he received some re-enforcements, which increased his little army to fourteen hundred men, with which he did not hesitate to attack the city of Guanaxuato, although entirely destitute of artillery. As might have been foreseen, the attack was unsuccessful, and after burning the machinery of the mine of Valenciana, he retired, and ordered his men to their different stations; he retained sixty or seventy only under his immediate command. The bold career of this brave and intrepid young officer and patriot, was soon terminated. He was surprised and captured by the Spanish General Orrantia, at Venadito, on the 27th of September 1817. Apadoca the viceroy, gave orders for his immediate execution, and he was conducted to the head-quarters of Linan, commanding the royal army before Remedios, where he was condemned, and shot on the 11th of November. The capture of Mina, not only occasioned great joy among the royal chiefs in Mexico, but was regarded as so important an event by the Spanish government, that Apadoca was honoured with the title sf *Conde del Venadito*, and Linan and Orrantia, received marks of distinction for having rendered so great a service to their country.

The royalists now directed all their efforts in prosecuting the siege of Remedios; and Torres finding his ammunition failing, evacuated the place on the night of the 1st of January 1818. The evacuation was so unskilfully con-

ducted that nearly all of the garrison were killed or made prisoners, and the inhabitants of the town of all ages and both sexes, unarmed and unprotected, were involved in one common ruin, and nearly all massacred.

The death of Mina, the fall of Remedios, and the loss of the garrison, presaged the speedy overthrow of the cause of independence, and encouraged the royalists to redouble their exertions for the consummation of an object so devoutly to be desired. The town and fortress of Xauxilla, the seat of the government of the revolutionists, was invested by one thousand men under Aguirre; and the place was compelled to surrender, after being gallantly defended for three months. The government was removed into the province of Valladolid, where it was surprised in the month of February 1818, by a party of royalists, and the president made prisoner. The popular government, however, still maintained a precarious existence, its members being obliged to remove from place to place, to avoid falling into the hands of the royalists, having no troops sufficient for their protection. To increase their difficulties, they were involved in civil dissentions. Torres, after the fall of Remedios, had conducted in so capricious and tyrannical a manner, that it had been found necessary to deprive him of his situation as commander in chief, by a formal decree, which Torres resisted. Don Juan Aragon, a French officer, who came into the country with Mina, was appointed to succeed Torres, and both parties had recourse to force, to settle the dispute. The approach of the royalists ended this unhappy contest, and Torres was obliged to yield and place himself under the protection of the government. This occurred in July 1819, and from this period the war languished every where; the royalists occupied all the fortresses, and every town, and the revolutionary party appeared to be almost entirely crushed. General Guerrero, however, a brave and enterprising officer, Arago, and a few others, continued to keep the field at the head of guerrillas, and roamed over the mountains; and Guadalupe Victoria, an assumed name, but one which has since become illustrious in Mexico, after long maintaining himself in the intendency of Vera Cruz, as the only resource left, disbanded his troops, and sought refuge in the mountains from royal vengeance, by which means his life was preserved for the redemption of his country.

CHAPTER X.

Royal authority re-established—Influence of the clergy—their views changed by the revolution in Spain—second revolution planned—Iturbide—Plan of Iguala proclaimed—Viceroy deposed—disaffection of the people—Victoria joins Iturbide—Iturbide takes Queretaro—success of the revolution—arrival of O'Donoju—Treaty—Mexico the capital surrendered to the revolutionists—Cortes assembled—different parties—Regency appointed—Disputes between Itubide and the cortes—Iturbide declared emperor—ambition of Iturbide—proposes to establish military tribunals—project defeated by the cortes.

The revolution might now be considered as terminated and the royal authority as re-established through the Mexican dominions. This unfortunate issue of the revolution, was mainly to be attributed to the opposition of the clergy, whose influence had always controled the conduct of a large majority of the inhabitants. When the revolution first broke out, and the standard of independence was unfurled by Hidalgo, the shouts of liberty spread from river to river, and from mountain to mountain, until they reached the shores of the two oceans; and the whole country was electrified by the patriotic flame. The people were evidently ripe for a general rising; but this noble spirit was checked by the clergy, who viewed in a revolution, originating from, and to be sustained by the people, if not the overthrow of their power, at least great danger of it, and they immediately sounded the tocsin of alarm. The church was in danger, the inquisition and the Roman apostolic catholic religion. All the engines of a powerful hierarchy, were put in requisition, and all the spiritual weapons of the church directed against the revolution. Disloyalty to the Spanish government, was not only treason, but heresy, the greatest of all sins. Ancient prejudices were renewed, the scruples of the conscientious appealed to, the fears of some were excited, and the ignorance and superstition of the many taken advantage of, to oppose the progress of the revolution, and aid the cause of royalty. The want of an efficient government, and unity of author-

ity, the dissentions among the patriotic chiefs, and the want of discipline in their armies, and experience in their commanders, were the causes of many of their disasters which retarded the progress of the revolution, and contributed to its unfortunate termination ; yet with all these difficulties, had not the rising current of popular feeling been checked by the influence of the clergy, and religious prejudices been brought to oppose the cause of liberty and independence, the first revolution would have succeeded ; and its early champions, instead of being rewarded for their exertions and patriotism with a halter, would have been viewed as the redeemers of their country, and have received the highest honor on earth, the homage of a free and grateful people.

But even as it was, we are not to suppose that their exertions were wholly lost, and that their blood flowed in vain. A desperate struggle of ten years, for liberty, in which the best blood of the country had been spilt, and the creoles and Indians suffered incredibly from the cruel tyranny of the Spanish rulers, had exasperated the people against their oppressors, alienated their minds from Spain, shaken ancient prejudices, and diffused much intelligence among the inhabitants, which enabled them to understand their rights, and rendered them more uneasy under the Spanish yoke. During this long contest too, much experience had been acquired by the patriots, and they had discovered the causes of their disasters and miscarriages. Notwithstanding therefore, the revolution had failed, it had scattered the seeds of independence through the valleys, and over the mountains of Mexico, which could hardly fail in due time, of springing up and producing fruit which would ripen to maturity. Had not the second revolution been brought about in the manner in which it was, tranquillity could not long have been preserved, as the spirit of independence would have soon disclosed itself among the people.

It is a curious fact, that the same cause which overthrew the first revolution in Mexico, should have produced the second. This cause was the exertions and influence of the clergy ; they denounced the revolution at first, and afterwards encouraged it, without however becoming advocates for liberty, or acting from different motives. The constitutional revolution in Spain, which broke out in the Isle of Leon, the establishment of the cortes, the various

reforms made by them, particularly, the confiscating the estates and reforming some of the higher orders of the priesthood, alarmed the clergy in Spanish America, and at once changed their attachment for the mother country, into jealousy and hatred. Their affection for Spain proved to be nothing more than an attachment for its ecclesiastical despotism, and the moment this was endangered, and there was a prospect of Spain becoming free, they lost all regard and veneration for the parent country, and from being its zealous advocates became its open opposers. The cortes were openly denounced from the pulpit, and their patriotic measures for the reformation of a corrupt and oppressive system, were declared to be tyrannical, and calculated to overthrow all government and destroy the holy catholic religion. Considering the government of Spain as now being in the hands of disorganizers and impious men, they declared that a separation was the only means of preserving the catholic religion, and not only openly advocated a revolt against the Spanish government, but assisted in devising and preparing the plan for giving effect to the revolution. The new order of things in the Spanish peninsula, not only changed the views of the clergy in Mexico, but many of the European Spaniards who had been the most zealous opponents of the revolution, were so indignant at the conduct of the cortes, and so hostile to the constitutional system, as to prefer the separation of Mexico from Spain, to its being governed by the constitution of the parent country, and falling under the dominion of the cortes.

The Spanish revolution, which entirely failed of securing the freedom of the peninsula, was the means of establishing the independence and liberty of Mexico; and had the singular effect of converting the clergy and many of the European Spaniards, in America, who had been the most violent opponents of the revolution into its most zealous advocates. A considerable part of the two classes which supported the royal cause, having turned against it, it had no other reliance but the officers of the government and the military. The Spaniards, and the clergy who were at this time in favour of a revolution, had very different views from the creoles; the first class wished for the independence of Mexico, in hopes to preserve in America that system of despotism, which they perceived overthrown in Spain, and thus secure a refuge for Ferdinand the VII.;

the clergy were in favour of a separation, from an apprehension that the reforms and restrictions of the prerogatives of the priesthood, which had been made in Spain by the constitutionalists, would be introduced into America, whilst the creoles and Indians were anxious to throw off the Spanish yoke, and thereby avoid its oppressions, and to establish a free government. The latter, however, had no agency at first in the second revolution, as it was planned and executed, by those, who, though friendly to the independence of the country were opposed to its enjoying the benefits of liberty and free institutions, securing equal rights to all classes of the people.

The principal difficulty with the clergy and Europeans who were in favour of a revolution, was to select a proper military leader, as an instrument of carrying their plan into execution. At length they fixed on Don Augustin Iturbide, who although a creole, had been zealous in the royal cause, and as an officer of the king, had fought against the independents with as much animosity as any of the Spanish chiefs. He had been successful in his military career, and had acquired the reputation of a brave and faithful officer; and his situation at that time was very important, as he had been appointed by the viceroy, to command the army designed to give the last blow to the revolution, and to crush the guerrillas which still presumed to keep the field. The European Spaniards considered him attached to their party; the clergy thought he would maintain their power and privileges, and all the enemies of liberty and of the equality of the different classes of the population, regarded him as opposed to the establishment of a free government, and a fit instrument to bring about a revolution, which should separate the colonies from Spain, and at the same time maintain the monarchical system and the power of the hierarchy.

The Spaniards and priests engaged in the plot, supplied Iturbide with some funds, which he augmented by seizing on a convoy of specie belonging to the Manilla merchants, whilst on his march against the insurgents. Instead of attacking the independents, under Guerrero, he formed a junction with them, and attempted to explain this event to the viceroy, by representing that the patriots had united with him, and claimed the protection of the government in pursuance of the proclamation which he had issued. In the meantime, the revolutionists in the capital had despatched agents to all the provinces, and had been extreme-

ly active in disseminating revolutionary sentiments; and the great body of the clergy, together with many of the Spaniards, now employing their influence in favour of a revolution, in a short time the minds of the people were prepared to throw off the Spanish yoke. The united armies proceeded to Iguala, where on the 22d of February 1821, Iturbide submitted to the officers a plan of independence, which being unanimously approved of, copies of it were immediately despatched to the viceroy and the governors of all the intendencies. This project of independence, called the plan of Iguala, proposed that Mexico should be independent of Spain, and be governed by a limited monarchy, the crown first to be offered to Ferdinand, and then to the other members of his family in regular succession, subject to the condition that the monarch must reside in Mexico, and take an oath to preserve inviolate the constitution which might be established by a congress, to be called for that purpose. It also guaranteed the security of the Roman Catholic religion, and the immunities of the secular and regular clergy; the indissoluble union of the European Spaniards and the creoles or natives; it likewise provided for the security of the rights of person and property, aud abolished all distinctions of classes; Spaniards, Creoles, Indians, Africans, and the various casts, were to be citizens of the monarchy, and alike eligible to places of honor and emolument. It provided that for the support of this new system, an army was to be raised, entitled the army of the three guarantees, to preserve the holy apostolic catholic religion, the independence of Mexico, and the union between the Spaniards in Mexico and the South Americans.

The appearance of the plan of Iguala, opened the eyes of Apadoca, and expelled from his mind every doubt as to the defection of Iturbide and his revolutionary designs. He immediately prepared to counteract the plans of the revolutionists, and to maintain the authority of the government, but was arrested in his exertions by the royalists, who thinking him not possessed of sufficient nerve, or wanting in military talents, for such a crisis, deposed him and elevated to his station, Don Francisco Novella, an officer of artillery. Iturbide's plan of the revolution, was dissatisfactory to the European Spaniards, who were alarmed at tying the hands of the monarch, and calling a congress to impose on him a constitution, and also at the principle of equality

among the different classes, as proposed. The rights and interests of the clergy being sufficiently attended to, they were satisfied with the plan, and the Europeans were obliged to acquiesce. They were also informed that the calling of a congress to establish a constitution, was a necessary feature in the plan, to reconcile the creoles to it, without whose assistance they could not expect to succeed.

This plan was submitted by Iturbide to his officers, on the first of March, 1821, they being requested to express their opinions freely on the subject, and assured of the privilege of acting as they saw fit. The plan was unanimously approved of, and such was their enthusiasm that it was proposed to create Iturbide lieutenant-general, and march immediately to the capital to carry it into effect. And although at this period Iturbide dreamed of "sceptres, diadems, and royal state," yet, like Cesar, he pushed away the crown; he not only declined the promotion, but declared, that the greatest moderation ought to be observed, and that it was his intention to carry his plan into effect, if possible, without resorting to hostilities. The next day Iturbide proposed to the army an oath to support the proposed plan, which, having been taken, he addressed them in the following language:—

"Soldiers—You have this day sworn to preserve the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion; to protect the union of Europeans and Americans; to effect the independence of this empire; and, on certain conditions, to obey the king. This act will be applauded by foreign nations; your services will be gratefully acknowledged by your fellow-citizens; and your names will be inscribed in the temple of immortality. Yesterday I refused the title of lieutenant-general, which you would have conferred upon me, and now I renounce *this* distinction, (tearing from his sleeves the bands of lace, which distinguished a colonel in the Spanish service.) To be ranked as your companion, fills all my ambitious desires," &c.

This address shows, that the arts of a military usurper are the same, whether a Cæsar, a Buonaparte, or a Spanish colonel—affected moderation, pretended patriotism, and flattering the soldiers with notions of companionship and equality.

The Americans disapproved of the plan of Iguala, as they were opposed to a monarchical form of government, and still more to a prince of the house of Bourbon; but

nevertheless favoured the revolution, considering that they should not be bound by this plan, and believing that a convention, elected by the people, would be authorized to depart from it, and to form such a constitution as would be most acceptable to the great body of the people, and best adapted to their condition. Many also foresaw that, when the wheels of the revolution were once set in motion, circumstances would be likely to occur, calculated to give to them a popular direction; as experience has demonstrated, that those who give the first impulse to revolutions, cannot always control their events or govern their results.

The disaffection of the inhabitants to the Spanish government, being almost universal, which had only been repressed by the influence of the clergy, and that powerful class having now not only withdrawn their opposition, but taken an active part in favour of the revolution, it was accomplished without a struggle, by the force of public opinion. It was a *revolution* in the *sentiments* of the people so important and so universal, as to produce without violence or bloodshed, a change in the political condition of the country. In some provinces, however, the royalists made a show of defence of the old, and opposition to the new order of things. Iturbide proceeded from Iguala to the *Baxio*, lying between Guanaxuato and the capital, where he was joined by several provincial governors, and a number of military officers. At San Juan del Rio, he was joined by Guadalupe Victoria, who after keeping the field until further resistance became useless, had dismissed his forces, and sought refuge in the mountains of Vera Cruz, where he had been concealed since 1819. This celebrated chief, who had been engaged in the revolution from its commencement, and become equally distinguished for his activity and bravery as a warrior, and for his patriotic devotion to the cause of liberty and the independence of his country, possessed in an eminent degree, the confidence of those engaged in the first revolution, and of all the friends of freedom. His joining Iturbide had great influence with the liberal party; removed their doubts, dispelled their apprehensions, and inspired them with confidence to afford their zealous support to the revolutionary cause. Iturbide, sensible of the importance of possessing Queretaro, which from its position, is in some measure the key of the interior provinces, marched against it, and entered the town without opposition. There he divided his army of

the three guarantees, as it was called; Victoria at the head of one division marched directly towards the capital, whilst Iturbide with the other, moved upon Puebla, where he was received without opposition, and the place immediately surrendered to him.

In this stage of the revolution, the new viceroy, General O'Donoju arrived at Vera Cruz from Spain, intrusted with the government of the country. Finding that all was lost; that the country had not only declared its independence, but was already in the enjoyment of it, as the capital, Vera Cruz and Acapulco, were the only places in the possession of the Spanish government, or subject to its authority, and these without garrisons sufficient to stand a seige, he proposed to Iturbide, to open a negotiation, on the basis of the plan of Iguala. This proposal having been accepted, the parties met at Cordova and negotiated a treaty, the principal provisions of which were, that Spain should acknowledge the independence of Mexico, and that the latter should send commissioners to the Spanish peninsula, to offer the crown to Ferdinand the VII. and that in the mean time a provisional government should be established, consisting of a regency and a junta; and that a cortes was to be elected and assembled, to form a constitution for the new monarchy.

At this time the capital had not surrendered, but was besieged by Victoria, and General O'Donoju stipulated to use his influence with the commander of the Spanish troops, to induce him to evacuate it. The request was made and refused; but the commander at the same time suggested, that he considered General O'Donoju as his superior officer by virtue of his appointment, and that he should obey his orders as commander in chief of the royal forces in New Spain. Orders were accordingly given for the garrison to capitulate, which they did, and marched out of the capital with the honors of war, and repaired to the town of Toluca, to wait for transports to convey them to Spain.

All opposition being at an end, and the independents in possession of the capital, a provisional junta, consisting of thirty-six members, was created, which appointed a regency or executive, of five persons, of which Iturbide was president. He was also appointed commander in chief of the army and navy, and a salary of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars assigned to him.

These preliminary matters being disposed of, the public attention was directed to the assembling of the cortes, and

the formation of a constitution. A plan was submitted to the junta by Iturbide, the basis of which was, that the legislative power should be confided to two chambers, one to be composed of twelve or fifteen dignitaries of the church, the same number of officers of the army, one member from each territorial supreme court of justice, and one to be chosen from each of the city councils, of the several cities in the empire; and the second chamber to be composed of representatives of the people, the election to be made according to the ratio of one deputy for every fifty thousand population; the classes represented in the first chamber to be excluded. Notwithstanding the influence of Iturbide at this time, and that he submitted his plan as emanating from the regency, it was rejected. In the project adopted, the same ratio of representation was preserved in the chamber of representatives, and it was provided that the provinces which sent more than four members, should elect one ecclesiastic; one belonging to the military class, and one to the legal profession. The constitution was not popular; it was too aristocratic to be acceptable to the mass of the people, who were much dissatisfied with it. Among the malcontents, were Victoria and Bravo, who headed a conspiracy, the object of which was, to compel the junta to adopt the principles of election of the constitution of the cortes in Spain. The plot being discovered to Iturbide, he arrested the two republican generals, and several of their abettors, and imprisoned them.

The elections having taken place, the cortes assembled in the capital on the 24th of February 1822; and previous to their organization, the members were compelled to take an oath, to preserve inviolate, every article of the plan of Iguala; and after their installation, the chambers, by an unanimous vote, sanctioned that plan. But neither the oaths or votes of the members, seem to have had any influence on their conduct, for the cortes were immediately divided into three parties, the friends of the plan of Iguala, the opponents of that plan, and the personal adherents of Iturbide. The first party comprised the monarchists, the friends of Ferdinand, and some liberal men who were in favour of the revolution, but who thought a moderate course the safest, and that an adherance to the plan of Iguala, would not only reconcile the European Spaniards to the revolution, but check the ambitious designs of Iturbide. The republican party denied the right of Iturbide

and the army, to pledge the nation, and were opposed to the plan of Iguala, both on the ground of principle and policy; they thought the nation capable of self government, and were in favour of a republic, whilst they wished to exterminate the monarchy root and branch, and were alarmed at placing a prince of the house of Bourbon, at the head of the government, who they feared, having the command of the army, and the means of corruption with the influence of the clergy, the royalists in the country, and those who would be likely to emigrate from Spain, would break down every constitutional barrier to absolute power, as had been done in Spain. The partizans of Iturbide, wished to accumulate power in his hands, and to push him forward to the supreme authority, that through him they might acquire wealth and aggrandize themselves. They possessed the balance of power, and acted with one party or the other, as best suited their object in advancing their leader; to prevent the republican party from establishing a democratic constitution, they voted with the Bourbonists or friends of the plan of Iguala, and when the latter attempted to carry into effect that part of the plan, which provided for calling a prince of the house of Bourbon to the throne, they oppsosed it, by voting with the republicans. The greater part of the two first parties, were honest in their intentions, and only differed in their views; they soon found it necessary to unite to oppose the ambitious designs of Iturbide. So dangerous is the possession of power, that this chief who but a short time before sustained no higher rank than a colonel in the royal army, was now bent on acting the part of a Cæsar. He assembled four thousand troops at Tacubaya, and endeavoured to overawe the cortes, and dictate to them. A joint meeting of the regency and the cortes was held, and Iturbide assumed the president's chair, to the surprise and astonishment of every one; but the cortes asserting that it belonged to the president of their body to preside, Iturbide was obliged to yield that point. Aided by his partizans, Iturbide constantly exerted himself, to extend his power, and encroach on the authority of the congress, and this struggle between the military chief and the legislative body, was terminated only by the overthrow of the latter. This contest, like that in England, between Charles I. and his parliament, and most others, between the executive and the legislature, consisted principally of a demand of money on the one part, and

a refusal on the other, attended with various irritating circumstances. When the person possessing the executive power, attempts to play the tyrant, the greatest obstacles usually experienced is the want of pecuniary resources, and hence the withholding of money, is the most effectual check to the extension of executive power. A military chieftain who aims at raising himself to supreme authority, has always great demands for money, as he wishes, not only to maintain a large millitary force, but to attach the army strongly to their leader, which requires that they should be liberally paid, fed and clothed.

Iturbide, like Bonaparte and other military usurpers, relied solely on the army, as he was sensible that he could not carry any considerable part of the people with him of any party or class. The Spanish royalists would not favour his designs of usurping the throne of Mexico, which belonged to the house of Bourbon; and the patriots did not wish to exchange one master for another, which would essentially defeat all the advantages of the revolution. They wished the country to be *independent*, that it might be *free*. Iturbide had increased the army and raised its pay, and to maintain it, he made constant demands on the congress for money, which were answered by complaints of the want of economy in the public expenditure, and by calling on the regency to account for the appropriations which had been made. Had the cortes been disposed to furnish the supplies required, it would not have been in their power to have done it, as the protracted war, attended with immense sacrifices and devastations, had exhausted the country, whilst the recent revolution had greatly increased the expenses of the government, by augmenting the army, and the creation of many new offices, with large salaries. Iturbide as commander in chief, enjoyed a salary of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, and his father a pension of ten thousand; the salary of the ministers was eight thousand each, and the members of the cortes received three thousand.

This struggle between Iturbide and the congress, occasioned the army to go unpaid; and the commander in chief, in order to exasperate them against the cortes, published his remonstrance to congress, exhibiting the wants and sufferings of the army, which he charged to the wilful neglect of that body, to provide the necessary supplies.

The dissentions and disorders which prevailed, occasioned the royal troops at Toluca, who had capitulated at

Mexico, to attempt a counter-revolution. Having obtained information of this, Iturbide adopted measures to defeat it, and at the same time, made use of it as a pretext for withdrawing from the capital, all the troops which were well disposed towards the congress. This step was followed by a proclamation declaring that the country was in danger, and summoning the congress to assemble the next day, the 3d of April, at an early hour, with the regency. At the joint meeting held in pursuance of the summons, Yanez, a member of the regency, arose and demanded the cause of the alarm. This declaration occasioned general surprise, as it plainly shewed that Iturbide had himself issued the proclamation in the name of the regency, and evidently to promote his own ambitious views. Yanez concluded by protesting against the president's engrossing the entire authority of the regency, and making use of his colleagues only as a screen to cover his own ambitious designs. "He has usurped," continued Yanez, "the sole executive power, and rendered himself absolute and despotic." Iturbide made an indignant reply, and charged Yanez with being not only a personal enemy to him, but a traitor to his country; he also declared that this was equally true of many members of the cortes. A tumultuous and disorderly scene ensued; Iturbide was repeatedly called on to name the members to whom he alluded, and to exhibit his charges and proofs against them. He named several members most distinguished for talents and integrity, and the charges exhibited against them, consisted only of their patriotic efforts to check his usurpations and ambitious designs. The cortes inquired into the charges, and unanimously acquitted the members accused, of any improper conduct, which exasperated Iturbide These occurrences excited complaints against the regency, and petitions were presented to the cortes, for the removal of the members of that body. A new appointment was made, and two of the old members only retained, Iturbide, from fear of his influence with the army, and Yanez on account of his bold and patriotic conduct at the sitting on the 3d of April.

Alarmed at the ambitious plans of Iturbide, and the ascendancy he had gained over the military, the cortes were desirous of reducing the army to twenty thousand men, and of organizing a national militia. These wise and prudent measures, excited both the fears and indignation of

Iturbide, and he used all his influence to oppose them and even to procure an augmentation of the army. The contest became warm, but the congress could not be intimidated or frightened out of their purpose, and they passed a decree providing for reducing the army to twenty thousand men, and for organizing and calling into service, a force of thirty thousand militia. This measure alarmed and exasperated Iturbide and his partizans to the highest degree, and they resolved to attempt to carry their plans into immediate execution. They perceived that public opinion was against them, and that the reduction of the army and the organization of a force of militia, would deprive them of all chance of success. It was determined that Iturbide should be declared emperor by the soldiers. Accordingly, on the night of the 18th of May, the sergeants of three regiments of the garrison in the capital, most devoted to Iturbide, assembled the soldiers, and addressed them in a manner calculated to exasperate them against the cortes; and to give a fresh stimulous to their zeal for the interests of their leader, money was profusely distributed among them, when they were marched to Iturbide's house, and paraded in front of it. Here they were joined by a mob of the lowest and most worthless portion of the community, and at ten o'clock, they commenced shouting, "Long live Iturbide, Augustin I. emperor of Mexico." These shouts with intervals of firing, continued until morning. To prevent the attendance of some of the most able and influential members of the cortes at the session that morning, the conspirators caused private intimation to be conveyed to them, that their lives would not be safe should they appear in public that day, as the troops were so exasperated against them, and in such a state of turbulence and insubordination, that it might not be in the power of the officers to restrain them from acts of violence and outrage. This disguised threat had the intended effect, and forty members of the cortes were absent when that body met, comprising the most bold and determined opponents of the usurper. Shouts, insults and threats, assailed the cortes whilst proceeding to the hall of congress, from a mercenary and disorderly soldiery, and a mob, consisting of the most degraded and depraved of the people; and the soldiers and the mob filled the galleries, so as to exclude all other persons. The occurrences of the night occasioned deep anxiety and concern among the members, and much excitement was

apparent. At length order was established, when one of the deputies belonging to the faction of Iturbide, arose and after adverting to the occurrences of the preceding night, and the existing disorders, observed that the voice of the people had been declared in favour of Iturbide, and that it was the duty of their representatives, to obey the will of their constituents and of the nation. He concluded with proposing to proceed immediately to the election of an emperor. Although this proposition having been expected, did not surprise the members, it occasioned a solemn pause, which continued for several moments. At length a member arose; but aware that it would be of no use, directly to oppose the proposition, with a view to gain time, suggested a doubt as to the authority of the congress to act on the subject, as they had not been elected for that purpose, but to frame a constitution; and expressed an opinion that if the house was to proceed to an election at all, it ought not to take so important a step, without first consulting the provinces. These moderate remarks occasioned instant tumult in the galleries. The soldiers and populace became outrageous, and not only vociferated, "Long live Augustin I. emperor of Mexico," but brandishing their swords and knives, threatened to put to death all the deputies who were opposed to the election of Iturbide, unless he was chosen and proclaimed emperor before one o'clock. Further opposition to a licentious soldiery and an infuriated populace, was deemed not only dangerous but unavailing, and the members of the cortes opposed to this usurpation, were compelled to yield to circumstances which they could not controul, and give a reluctant consent to the choice of the army. The success of the conspiracy, so elated the soldiers that a few days after the election, they issued a manifesto, in which they triumphantly claimed the principal merit of the elevation of the emperor, and asserted that the plan was contrived and executed by themselves alone. This daring usurpation of a military chieftain, neither distinguished for his services or his talents, was submitted to without resistance or open complaint, and the officers of the government at the capital and in the provinces, took the oath of allegiance.

There is scarcely another instance in history, of a man no way distinguished as a military leader, and sustaining at the commencement of his usurpation, no higher rank than that of colonel, and having no hold on the affections

of the people for any distinguished or patriotic services, raising himself to the supreme power, over an extensive country, by the mere force of circumstances. But notwithstanding the crooked councils and open violence by which Iturbide obtained the sovereign power, had he possessed talents and governed with moderation, such was the condition of the country, that he might have maintained his elevation for a considerable time, and possibly have established a new empire and a new dynasty. Fortunately, however, for the Mexicans and for America, the intoxication of success, and the sudden possession of power, turned the head of Iturbide, and prepared him for his own destruction. His obvious policy would have been not only to have conciliated the people as well as the soldiers, but to have acted in concert with the cortes, and to have encouraged that body to form a constitution of government, which might have recognized his elevation and formed the basis of his power. His security required that he should have been content with the enjoyment of the executive power, and to have governed in conjunction with the cortes, leaving with them the responsibility of making the laws. But instead of this course, he immediately attempted to render himself absolute, and kept up a constant struggle with the congress for power, as he aimed to engross every thing himself, and to deprive the cortes of all their authority. He insisted on the appointment of his privy council, the judges of the supreme court, and an unqualified *veto* on all laws made by the cortes, and even the articles of the constitution which that body was about to prepare. The cortes proposed to leave the question of the veto to be determined by the constitution, and yielded to him the appointment of his council, but insisted on retaining the privilege of nominating the secretary of the council. The cortes were strenuously opposed to investing him with the right of appointing the supreme judges, as that was a very dangerous power, and would have been much exposed to be abused. During the interval that might elapse previous to the adoption of a constitution, the cortes proposed that the emperor with the advice and consent of his council, should have the right of returning laws and proposing alterations. The emperor at first assented to these propositions of the cortes; but soon changed his mind and renewed his first pretentions, insisting that the constitution of the Spanish cortes, which had been adopted as the basis

of a temporary government, conferred on him those powers. The congress had at first adopted the Spanish constitution as the basis of a government in Mexico, until a constitution could be provided; excepting such parts as were inconsistant with the independence of Mexico, the plan of Iguala, and the decrees which the cortes might pass, as it was intended only as the outline of the government, and not to restrict the legislation of the cortes. It could not therefore invest the emperor with any power, inconsistent with the decrees of the cortes. The struggle was continued between the executive and legislative branches of the government, but at length the cortes yielded to the emperor the appointment of the secretary of his council, yet continued firm and unshaken in their purpose to withhold from him the controul of the judiciary, as they had reason to fear, if he possessed this power, he would elevate to the bench, men who would become the mere instruments of his arbitrary purposes, to the subversion of all justice, and the danger of the liberty and lives of all who might oppose the imperial will. The emperor attempted to overawe and controul the deliberations of the cortes, for which purpose his partizans and the soldiers filled the galleries, and were guilty of the most disorderly and threatening conduct, disgraceful to the government, and derogatory to the national legislation. The cortes, however, could not be intimidated, but remained firm in their purpose of resisting the arbitrary measures of the emperor, and maintaining the liberties of the people. The project of a law for the establishment of military tribunals, was prepared by the emperor and his council, and submitted to the cortes by the minister of justice. As the adoption of so extraordinary a measure, could only be justified from the existence of extraordinary and alarming circumstances, the preamble to the law declared :

"That the interruption in the administration of justice—the robberies, murders, assassinations—the banditti that infest the high-ways—the disorders that disturb the public tranquility—the absence of all punishment, an impunity, authorised, as it were, by law, clearly shew that the administration of justice is paralyzed, that there are no judges, no tribunals of justice, and that the commission of crimes has gone so far, that the ordinary tribunals are not sufficient to suppress them. To remedy these evils it is thought expedient to adopt a new system for the administration of

justice ; and the following articles are proposed to be passed into a law :

" 1st. That there shall be in this city, and in all the capital cities of the provinces, a special tribunal, composed of two officers of the army, and of one lawyer, to be appointed by the emperor.

" 2d. This tribunal shall have exclusive jurisdiction, or jointly with the other judges, in all cases of conspiracy against the state, and jointly with the other judges in all cases of robbery, assassinations and murders.

" 3d. All appeals to be made to the Captain-General of the provinces, who shall pronounce sentence after hearing the opinion of a solicitor, appointed for that purpose.

" 4th. This sentence to be carried into execution whenever it agrees with that of the first tribunal ; and in case of disagreement, the cause to be referred to a council of war.

" 5th. The articles 287, 293, 295, 299 and 300 of the Spanish constitution to be suspended. (These provide for the habeas corpus.)

" 6th. That there shall be in this capital, a chief, with whatever name or title the emperor may choose to confer on him, especially charged to watch over the public security, and to exercise the most vigilant police."

" The committee of congress appointed to examine and report on this project of law, declared—

" 1st. That it is contrary to the enlightened principles of those authors, who have written on the subject of government with most philosophy.

" 2d. Contrary to public opinion, which all governments are bound to respect.

" 3d. Contrary to the Spanish constitution, which has been adopted until a new one be formed for the empire.

" 4th Contrary to reason, which ought to guide the legislation of a people.

" 5th. Contrary to the interests of the Mexican nation in its present situation."

This report was adopted unanimously, and the attempt to establish military tribunals, as a preliminary step towards military despotism, was indignantly put down.

CHAPTER XI.

Tyrannical conduct of the emperor—his power over the congress—dissolves the congress—A junta assembled —Disaffection of the people—Santana and Victoria join the republicans—Spirit of revolt spreads rapidly —Iturbide resigns the crown—he embarks for Leghorn—New congress assembled—Commissioners from Spain—State of the country—adoption of the constitution—Disaffection in the army—Staboli executed—Iturbide meditates a return—congress declares him a traitor and outlaw—Public credit—Slavery—Iturbide returns in disguise—is arrested and executed.

THE emperor perceiving that the cortes were firm and resolute in opposing his plans, found it necessary to resort to coertion and violence; and on the night of the 26th of August 1822, he caused fourteen of the most distinguished and intrepid members to be arrested and thrown into prison, on a charge of conspiracy against the government. Indignant at this tyrannical measure, the cortes assembled in secret session the next day, and demanded of the minister the cause of the arrests which had been made; and were informed that some of the members were actually implicated in a conspiracy, and others suspected, and that they had been arrested by authority of an article in the Spanish constitution, conferring that power on the executive. The following day, the cortes sent a message to the minister, suggesting that the 172d article of the Spanish constitution, provides, that all persons arrested shall be brought to trial if they desire it, within forty-eight hours, and demanding that in compliance with this provision, the prisoners be immediately brought before a component tribunal for trial. To this message, it was answered, that the charge was of so complicated a nature, that it was impossible to comply with the request of the cortes; and that the article of the constitution referred to, spoke only of one person, and could not be applicable to several who were charged with the same crime, as it might be easy to try one person within forty-eight hours, but would be impossible to examine the charges against a number in that limited time.

The congress next determined to present an address to the emperor himself, praying that the constitution may not be violated, and requesting that the deputies accused might be delivered up to them, in which case they could constitute a tribunal for their immediate trial. At nine o'clock at night, his majesty's answer was received, which repeated the interpretation given by the minister, to the 172d article of the constitution, and declared that he could not consent to have the accused members tried before the tribunal which the cortes might create, until it could first be ascertained whether the members of the tribunal were not themselves implicated in the conspiracy. This communication excited much feeling, and occasioned an animated discussion, attended with severe animadversions on the conduct of the emperor and his ministers.

After continuing to assemble in secret sessions until the 12th of September, without being able either to procure the release or trial of the accused members, the cortes resolved to say no more on that subject at present, and attend to the business before them. The great questions of the veto, and the appointment of the supreme judges, still continued unsettled, and subjects of dispute between the emperor and the cortes. At length becoming satisfied that he could not carry these points, and that it would be impossible to render himself absolute whilst the cortes remained, the emperor resolved to free himself, from what he regarded as the only obstacle to his power. He assembled in his palace a junta, or what in this country would be called a caucus, composed of the general officers of the army, his ministers and council of state, and such of the deputies of the cortes as were favourable to his views. He addressed the junta, and declared, that the majority of the cortes were hostile to the present system, and wished to establish a democracy, under the name of a monarchy; that the country was in iminent danger, and would be ruined unless the number of the deputies was reduced; that the congress had failed to give a constitution to the empire, but had adopted that of Spain, which was not suited to its condition, and had made no provision for the administration of justice, or for the exigencies of the treasury. These charges against the cortes, were correct in point of fact, but the emperor himself had been the cause why the congress had not effected any of these objects, by his arbitrary conduct, and his persecutions and encroachments on the au-

thority and privileges of the legislative body. It was finally determined at this meeting, to require of congress the reduction of their number, and that they grant to the emperor the appointment of the judges, and an unqualified veto on all laws. These proposals were submitted to congress, by the ministers and four councellors of state, who were allowed to discuss them. The cortes wishing to put at rest these disputed questions, and many believing that they were the sole cause of the persecutions the congress had suffered; and being sensible of the alarming circumstances of the country, as the government did not even pay the printers, which prevented their decrees from being published, they finally resolved to grant to the emperor the appointment of the judges, and a veto on all laws except the articles of the constitution. It was hoped that this would satisfy his majesty, and restore harmony between the two branches of the government, and enable the congress to attend to the important regulations which the state of the country, and the exigencies of the treasury so imperiously demanded. How insatiable is the lust of power! When the ocean is satisfied with its tributary waters, then will the ambition of man be satisfied with the possession of power. The concessions made to the emperor, instead of contenting him, seemed to increase his avidity for power, and he immediately demanded that his veto should be extended to the articles of the constitution, and that the number of the cortes should be diminished. Congress, perceived the fallaciousness of their hopes, as to satisfying the emperor, and that the more they yielded to him, the more he would demand. They determined to make no farther concessions, and by a decided majority, rejected the imperial demands, although not insensible that matters had reached a crisis. The next day the emperor sent a general officer to the hall, with orders to dissolve the congress, and to expel the members by force, if they did not retire in ten minutes. The deputies were in some measure prepared for this violent proceeding, and the president having directed this order entered on the journals of the chamber, the officer signed the same, and the members retired from the hall. Iturbide issued a proclamation the next day, declaring the dissolution of the congress, alledging as a reason, that it had totally neglected its duty, in failing, to present the nation a constitution, to provide for the administration of justice, and to supply the exigencies

of the treasury, in consequence whereof the army remained unpaid, and alarming disorders prevailed. The proclamation concluded with several decrees:

"1st. The congress is dissolved from the moment this decree is promulgated.

"2d. The national representation shall be continued until a new congress can be assembled, in a junta, composed of two members from each of the larger provinces, and one from the smaller—*all of whom I will nominate.*

"3d. The business to which this junta shall attend is to be determined by separate regulations.

"The members of congress, not of this junta, must in order to leave the capital, signify their intentions to the political chief. Those who remain, and are not inhabitants of this city, may apply to the treasury for their daily pay.

"The junta shall meet and commence their duties on the second day of November."

The emperor selected forty-five members of the congress, and eight substitutes for the junta, who assembled in the congressional hall on the day named, at five o'clock in the afternoon, and a little after dark the emperor appeared, and taking his seat on the imperial throne, addressed them in the following language:

"Gentlemen:—When the nation, borne down by the chains, which it had dragged for the space of three centuries, could not explain its wish to recover its natural independence, I, with a small number of troops, resolved to declare it, in the face of frightful perils; and from that time, my voice, in consequence of that act, became necessarily and essentially the organ of the general will of the inhabitants of this empire. It became my duty to consider well, and to seize the true points of what is politically called the general will, and this important consideration, constituted one of the many essential prerequisites for the success of the undertaking. In this manner I settled the basis, on which the majesty of the government of a nation so great, and of such extensive territory, ought to rest. I declared the right that it had acquired to adopt the constitution best suited to it. I adverted particularly to the necessity of convoking a national representation, not by the *demogogical* and anarchical method, prescribed by the Spanish constitution, but by just rules, and such as are suited to our circumstances. This most delicate work I might have accomplished myself: but my fervent desire to act right,

made it appear to me more secure to entrust it to an assembly of men the most distinguished for their talents, probity, fortune and employments." After telling them, that the conduct of the former government had led the nation to the brink of a precipice, he said, "That in order not to fall into it, it had become necessary to step backwards, not by the devious path that we had lately followed, but by that of the plan of Iguala; by which we reached the difficult and glorious goal of our independence. Let us return boldly, gentlemen, and follow this sure road, watered with sweat and laurels; let us march on it with a firm and tranquil step, and the happiness of the nation will be secured. Let us bear this nation along to the glorious epoch of its establishment, in a peaceful, solid and stable manner. Let us organize its representation in such a manner, that it shall yield no other than the pure, limped, clear and general sound of the public wishes, and let us profit by the experience of the past for the future. The rock on which we have struck, is, that the sovereign power, by a most impolitic error, has been transferred from the mass of the people, to whom it exclusively belongs, to a congress. An authority so powerful, as not to be subjected to any law, nor to admit any rule but such as it chooses to prescribe for itself, must act in an arbitrary manner; and such a state of things is characteristic of, and peculiar to, a despotism, as it is incongruous and repugnant to a limited government. Man is disposed to abuse power; for it is extremely difficult that he, who can do all that he wishes, will not desire to do more than he ought; and if, with respect to one man or a few persons, it is imprudent to trust to a presumption of virtuous and voluntary moderation, there is nothing in a numerous body that ought to inspire greater confidence. It is true, that our congress followed the example of the Spanish cortes; but whoever copies from a deformed model, will he not increase its imperfections? And what shall we come to, if we follow in every thing, that pernicious example?" &c. &c.

The regulations governing the proceedings and specifying the powers of the junta, were then read by the minister of state. The junta was empowered to frame a constitution; but the ministers were to be admitted to discuss the project of one, and even the ordinary laws. The junta was in fact only the organ of the imperial will, and intended and calculated rather to strengthen the absolute

authority of the emperor, than to form a barrier to it. The financial minister submitted an exposure of the condition of the public revenue, to the junta, from which it appeared that the annual receipts amounted to only eight millions of dollars, whilst the expenditures exceeded thirteen millions. The junta decreed a forced loan of two and a half millions of dollars, and to supply the pressing exigencies of the treasury, they ordered the seizure of the money detained at Perote, which had been sent by Spanish merchants, to be embarked at Vera Cruz ; the emperor having first hinted to the junta the situation of this money.

Iturbide is not the only man whose ambition was greater than his talents ; or who succeeded in usurping power which he had not the ability to maintain. It is fortunate that it was so ; as it would have been a reproach to Mexico and to America, that this crude usurpation, this contemptible tyranny should have succeeded. It would have presented one of the most melancholy events in history ; a revolution for liberty, resulting in a despotic tyranny, a mere change of masters. It would have blasted all the fruits of the revolution, retarded the advancement of political and social improvement in Mexico, and checked its national prosperity and importance, besides affording a dangerous example, and a dangerous neighbour to the American republics. The only legitimate object of a revolution is the establishment of liberty and a government founded on the will of the people. If this object is lost, all is lost, as independence is of little value without it, since tyranny is essentially the same whether foreign or domestic : whether of long continuance or of recent origin.

It is not less fortunate to the cause of liberty than to Mexico, that another has not been added to the examples of a noble struggle of a nation for liberty, ending in usurpation and military despotism.

Iturbide had no sooner reached the goal of his ambition, than he began to perceive the instability of his power, and that the imperial diadem did not set so lightly or securely on his head, as he seems to have imagined that it would. In a few months the disaffection of the people, broke out into open revolt. The republican standard was first raised in Soto la Marina, and as the disaffection was general in the northern provinces, the people flocked to it, and the republicans would have been formidable, had not Garza their leader been totally destitute of courage or capaci-

ty, and fled on the first appearance of the imperial troops. This revolt occurred in October 1822, and was soon followed by an event at Vera Cruz, which led to important results. The royal garrison of the castle of San Juan Ulloa, made an unsuccessful attempt to destroy the works that had been erected in the suburbs of the city of Vera Cruz, which occasioned the junta to interdict all intercourse with the castle, and all commerce with Spain; and likewise to prohibit the exportation from Mexico, of all goods or monies belonging to European Spaniards. A correspondence was opened with the royal governor of the castle, without any satisfactory result. The emperor finally concluded that a personal interview would lead to an accommodation, and on the 10th of November he left his capital, and proceeded to Jalapa, passing through Puebla, where from the influence of the bishop, who had a principal agency in the elevation of Iturbide, he was received with demonstrations of respect. At Jalapa, he learnt that the royal governor would on no considerations leave the castle, in consequence of which, commissioners were appointed by both parties, to meet at Vera Cruz. After considerable discussion, they could not agree on terms of accommodation, and separated without doing any thing. Santana was governor of the city of Vera Cruz, an active officer, who had stormed and taken the place from the royalists. A dispute arose between him and Echavarri, who commanded the southern division of the army, and the latter officer preferred a complaint to the emperor, who immediately summoned Santana to appear before him. Knowing how much the emperor was indebted to him for his elevation, and confident of his protection, he did not hesitate to obey the order; but instead of being treated in the kind and friendly manner he expected, the emperor censured his conduct with severity, and dismissed him from his command as governor of Vera Cruz. His astonishment at this unexpected treatment, could only have been equalled by his indignation, and suddenly leaving Jalapa, he returned to Vera Cruz with the greatest expedition, riding day and night, and arrived before the news of his dismissal from his command. As not a moment was to be lost, he instantly ordered out his own regiment, and laid before them his determination no longer to support the despotic and odious government of Iturbide, who, by forcibly dissolving the congress, and his arbitrary and tyran-

nical conduct, had justly forfeited the confidence of the people and the army; and concluded by exhorting them to use their arms in defence of the liberties of their country, and to add to the glory they had acquired in overthrowing the despotism of Spain, by prostrating the tyrant Iturbide. These sentiments were received with acclamation, as they were in accordance with the opinions of all the officers of the garrison, who had suppressed them from a persuasion that their commander was strongly attached personally, to the emperor. The republican standard was immmediately unfurled, and Santana addressed a letter to the emperor reminding him how much he was indebted to him for his elevation, and of the regard he had always entertained for him; but declaring that his arbitrary and tyrannical conduct, had rendered him unworthy the station he held, and justly forfeited the confidence of the nation, which he had reduced to the greatest disorder and misery; and that he felt it his duty to lay aside all personal considerations, when the liberties of his country were at stake. He reproached Iturbide with having violated his oath, in dissolving the congress by force, and establishing despotism in his own person; declared his intention of re-establishing the republic, and concluded by advising the emperor to resign the crown, and throw himself on the generosity of congress.

No advice is less likely to be relished, than that which recommends to sovereigns the relinquishment of their power, or any particle of it; and the emperor instead of complying with the advice of Santana, immediately ordered Echavarri with his division, to march against him. Santana proceeded to Puente del Rey, and fortified the place. The imperialists pursued the republicans, and several actions were fought between them, but not of a decisive nature. The people did not rally round the republican standard, not having confidence in Santana, as he had formerly been instrumental in promoting the ambitious projects of Iturbide. Fortunately for Mexico, several of the most distinguished of the republican generals had escaped all the perils to which they had been exposed, and at this conjuncture, came forward to aid the cause of liberty. The most distinguished, and the first who joined the republican standard, was Guadalupe Victoria, who had been secreted in the mountains from the period when by opposing the ambition of Iturbide, he had rendered himself

obnoxious to the tyrant. He was at first appointed second in command, but Santana perceived that to inspire perfect confidence with the people, it was necessary to raise him to the chief command. The confidence and respect which the public felt in a man, who from the commencement of the revolution, under all vicissitudes of fortune, and the various changes which it had assumed, had been distinguished, not more for his bravery than his patriotic devotion to the case of liberty, and his uniform republicanism, was immediately perceptible on his elevation to the chief command of the republican forces. The people flocked to his standard from all quarters, and the spirit of revolt spread with rapidity through the different provinces. Echavarri, although a personal enemy to Santana, joined the republican cause, and an arrangement was entered into between him and Victoria. The united armies sent commissioners to Iturbide, to offer him terms of accommodation ; the basis of which, was the immediate assembling of a congress to form a republican constitution. Iturbide was not diposed to treat, but sent commissioners to Echavarri and his officers, to attempt to dissuade them from their purpose, but without success. The emperor marched with the small force he had, to Istapaluca, a small town twelve miles from the capital, where he took an advantageous position. The power of Iturbide crumbled to dust in less time than it had been acquired. The example of the army under Echavarri, was followed in the provincces, and the defection soon became general. The provinces of Oaxaca, Guadalaxara, Guanaxuato, and San Luis Potosi, declared against the imperial government, and imprisoned the emperor's commanders ; and Queretaro, Valledolid, and the capitals of the other provinces, also seized and imprisoned the imperial officers. The distinguished republican generals, Guerrero and Bravo, who had remained in the capital, under the jealous and vigilant eye of the government, escaped, and returning to the west, rallied the people, and appeared in arms against the usurper.

Under these portentous circumstances, Iturbide made proposals of accommodation, and was answered by a demand of the immediate assembling of a national cortes, and money sufficient to pay the troops. If the emperor had been disposed, he could not have complied with the last requisition, except in paper money, of which he had issued four millions on the 1st of January 1823, and by a decree, made

it a tender for one third part of the amount of any debt, and it was received for duties and taxes in the same proportion, by the government. This currency immediately and rapidly depreciated, as was to have been expected, and contributed greatly to increase the discontents of the people. The province of Puebla declared for the republicans, and a strong force being organized in the capital of the province, by the Marquis de Vivanco, who assumed the government of the city, the republican army advanced to Puebla. Here they were joined by Negrete and several other distinguished officers, who deserted the sinking fortunes of the emperor. The republicans pushed forward their advanced guard, to San Martin de Tesmelucos.

The emperor perceiving that the imperial game was drawing to a close, hastened to the capital, and on the 8th of March 1823, attempted to assemble the members of the old congress who were in the capital to tender to them his resignation; but few only could be induced to attend, and there not being a quorum, they declined to act. The imperial diadem which once graced the brow of Iturbide, had now become a crown of thorns that pierced his soul. A monarch is deprived of the solace and support of friendship, as those who claim to be his friends, are not friends to his person but his power, and leave him when that departs. As the overthrow of Iturbide's power became more apparent, his partizans deserted him one after another, until he found himself entirely abandoned. The man who had succeeded in acquiring supreme and despotic power, and whose will was law, and implicitly obeyed, in little more than one year, was not only fallen so low, that "there were none so poor to do him reverence," but was trembling for his own life. On the 19th of March 1823, he communicated to the congress his resignation, and remarks, "That he accepted the crown with the greatest reluctance, and only to serve his country; but from the moment he perceived that his retaining possession of it might serve, if not as a cause, at least as a pretext for civil war, he determined to give it up; that he did not abdicate before, because there was no national representation, generally recognized as such, to receive it. That as his presence in the country might serve as a pretext for dissentions, he will retire to some foreign land, and asks only a fortnight to prepare for his departure; and finally solicits congress to pay his debts."

Immediately on forwarding this letter, he retired to Tulancingo. This letter was referred to a committee, who reported against accepting the renunciation of the crown by Iturbide, as that might be construed to imply a right or lawfulness, to the power renounced; but they recommended, not only to grant his request of departing from the country, but to allow him a pension for the maintenance of his family and suit, of twenty-five thousand dollars a year. This was certainly a singular document. There seems a strange inconsistancy, in being so scrupulous about accepting the abdication of Iturbide, from an apprehension that it might imply a concession of his right to the crown, and at the same time to permit him to retire on a princely pension. Did not the allowance of a princely income, imply some acknowledgment of a right to the power resigned? If, as was undoubtedly the case, he had no better right to sovereign power than that of usurpation; he had justly forfeited his life as the greatest of all treasons, in overturning by military force, a free government, and establishing a despotism on its ruins. What greater felony can be committed than to rob an entire people of their liberties. It is to be presumed, however, that the liberal conduct towards Iturbide, proceeded from considerations of policy, as he had many partizans in the country, and perhaps in fact, from a regard to his services in breaking down the royal government; and whatever may be thought of the propriety of granting him the pension, the policy was undoubtedly correct, so far as it respected his personal security; but his subsequent conduct shows how misapplied was the munificence of the government.

The report of the committee was accepted, and the ex-emperor was escorted by General Bravo, to Antigua, near Vera Cruz, where on the 11th of May 1823, he embarked on board of an English vessel for Leghorn, with his family and suit, consisting of twenty-five persons.

The republican troops entered the capital on the 27th of May, and the old congress was soon after assembled. It immediately established a provisional government, and appointed a triplicate executive, consisting of Generals Victoria, Bravo, and Nerete; the two first are natives, distinguished for their patriotism, talents and services, and the last is an European, justly esteemed for his integrity and talents. Steps were immediately taken, for the convocation of a new congress, and the people in the election,

were careful to exclude the royalists, the partizans of Iturbide, and the advocates for the plan of Iguala. The new congress assembled and entered on the subject of framing a constitution of government. This was now a subject that engrossed public attention, and the only source of division or dissention, as neither the royalists or the adherents of Iturbide were sufficiently formidable, to occasion disturbances among the people, or anxiety to the government. The people were divided into two parties relative to the constitution, one being in favour of a confederative government, like that of the United States, and the other preferring a central or consolidated republic like that of Colombia.

Sometime in March 1823, before the republican army entered the capital, General Santana with six hundred troops, sailed from Vera Cruz, and landing at Tampico, advanced rapidly into the interior, as far as San Luis Posoti, where he established his head-quarters, and immediately declared himself protector of the federal republic. But as it was suspected that his object was, to place himself at the head of one of the two parties for the advancement of his own views, he was not supported even by the advocates of the federal plan. The government having sent a force against him, he was obliged to submit, and was brought to the capital and confined.

After the overthrow of the royal government by Iturbide, and the treaty with O'Donoju, on the basis of the plan of Iguala, Spain, although obstinately refusing to acknowledge the independence of Mexico, made no effort to regain her authority over it, and it had been in point of fact, entirely independent of Spain, who had not been a party to any of the dissentions and wars which had existed. During the administration of Iturbide, commissioners were sent to Mexico from Spain, but were not permitted to enter the country, and they had remained in the castle of San Juan de Uloa, which was in the possession of the royalists. This fortress still continues in the hands of the Spaniards, and is the only foothold which Spain has had in Mexico, since the arrangement with O'Donoju in 1820. After the fall of Iturbide, the Spanish commissioners were allowed to enter the Mexican territories, and the new government appointed General Victoria to treat with them, and designated Xalapa as the place for the meeting of the parties. Soon after the negotiations were commenced, they were broken off in

consequence of the castle of San Juan de Ulua, firing on the city of Vera Cruz. This was occasioned by the republican government attempting to fortify the island of Sacrificios, on the opposite point of land, to form a new port of entry, for the purpose of avoiding the exactions which all vessels entering the harbor were subjected to, by the governor of the castle. If this plan had been carried into execution, it would have deprived the garrison of all means of maintaining themselves; and the governor was compelled to make use of force to prevent the erection of the works, and the plan was obliged to be relinquished. The government immediately published a decree, interdicting all commercial intercourse with Spain.

After the departure of the *cidevant* emperor, his partizans attempted to excite civil commotions, but they were too few in numbers, and too well known and watched, to occasion any alarm to the government or to endanger the public tranquility. The only remaining source of public dissention, was the difference of opinion as to the form of government about to be established. Congress were divided as well as the people, on the subject, and in some of the provinces, the inhabitants were thrown into great alarm and agitation, from an apprehension that congress intended to establish a central government; in several districts the excitement was so great as to occasion civil commotions, and an open revolt against the government. Whether the convention intended to have established a central system, in preference to a federative one or not, these strong indications of public opinion, no doubt had great influence in inducing it to adopt the latter. It was perceived that unanimity in the congress could alone quiet the existing dissentions, and ensure respect to the government which might be established. Accordingly, a constitution on the federative plan, was prepared and adopted with great unanimity; and on the second of February 1824, was sworn to in the capital, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the people. The system is similar to that of the United States, and consists of a general or national government, and local or state governments in the provinces. After the adoption of the system, the congress and people proceeded with order and harmony, to organize both the national and state governments, and to set all the political machinery in operation.

In the month of January, previous to the adoption of the constitution, a disturbance occurred in the province of Puebla, in consequence of General Echavarri, who commanded there, refusing to obey the orders of the executive. The reason of such strange conduct, or what were his designs, did not satisfactorily appear. This officer is an European by birth, but had contributed essentially to the establishment of the republic, by joining Victoria and Santana, which became the signal for a general revolt against Iturbide. General Guerrero, at the head of a few troops marched to quell the insurrection, and Echavarri being deserted by his troops, was seized and sent a prisoner to the capital, which terminated the insurrection without bloodshed. The public mind however, was not settled, and this disturbance was soon followed by an insurrection, headed by one Hermandez, at Cuemavaca, which General Guerrero was sent to suppress, and effected it without difficulty. But not far from the same time, a more extensive and alarming disaffection appeared in the capital, that threatened more serious consequences. A formidable opposition, or faction, had been organized, including the garrison and its commander, the object of which was to compel congress to dismiss all the Europeans from office. The exclusive employment of European Spaniards, to the entire exclusion of the natives, or creoles, had always been regarded, not only as a great grievance in itself, but as the fertile source of the oppressions of the colonial system. The new government had neglected to remove this source of political evil, but suffered the Europeans still to hold most of the offices, in consequence, as is supposed, of attaching a mistaken importance to their being familiar with the routine of public duties, and from their connexion by marriage with the wealthy and influential creole families. This conduct of the government, was regarded by many as equally impolitic and unjust, and the garrison, with Lobato at their head, demanded of congress the immediate removal of all European Spaniards from office. Congress with great firmness resolved to maintain its authority; and with the assistance of the numerous friends of the government, made great exertions to induce the garrison to return to their duty, and to collect and embody a force sufficient to intimidate, and, if necessary, to put down the insurgents. Instead of complying with the demand, congress ordered Lobato to appear before them, and after two day's negotia-

tion, he delivered himself up to the government, and in consideration thereof was pardoned. Lieutenant-colonel Staboli, an Italian by birth, and some other officers obstinately refused to submit; but were finally abandoned by their adherents, who delivered them up to the government, and Staboli was sentenced to be shot, by a court martial.

There is but one evidence, that a king is more than mortal, and that is the fact, fully proved by history, that when an individual has once become a king, he can no longer live as a man. It is, with him, *aut Cæsar, aut nihil* —he must be a king, or nothing; he cannot exist as a man. This truth was not more strongly illustrated by the great Napoleon, than by the humble Iturbide. The former's example, and all the lessons of history, were lost on the cidevant emperor of Mexico, and the generosity of the government towards him, instead of producing a deep sense of gratitude, and preparing his mind to be content to follow the paths of wisdom, which are pleasantness and peace, it probably contributed to lead him into the mad course of ambition, which proved his ruin. Imperial power appears never to have been absent from his mind, after his banishment from Mexico. Whether he had any correspondence with his partisans in the Mexican Republic, or not, it is certain that he soon meditated returning to Mexico. He was the more in haste to return, as he asserts, from an apprehension that the ministers of the powers of the holy alliance at the Court of Tuscany, would attempt to frustrate his intentions. He arrived in England in February, 1824, when he addressed a letter to the Mexican Congress, in which he communicates his intention of returning to America, although in direct violation of the decree of the 8th of April, 1822; and gives as a reason, the hostile designs of the powers of Europe against the new world, which would soon be developed; and his wish to be in a situation where he might fly to the aid of his countrymen, if they should desire his services. He submits to the congress, whether his services, in a military capacity only, may not be of some utility, in uniting the public voice, and contributing with his sword to secure the independence and liberty of his country. He assures the congress of his ability to bring arms, ammunition, clothing, and money, declares that his only object is to aid in securing the liberty of Mexico, and that when that is established, he shall cheerfully retire to private life. Being apprised of his intentions, congress in-

stead of abrogating the decree by which he was exiled, or inviting him to return, to assist in a military capacity in securing the liberties of his country, immediately passed a decree, declaring Iturbide a traitor and outlaw, the first moment he should enter any part of the territory of the republic, under any title or pretence whatsoever ; also declaring all persons traitors, who should by any means whatever, aid or encourage Iturbide's return to the republic, or any other foreign invader, and that they should be judged conformably to the law of the 27th of September 1823. This decree bore date the 28th of April 1824 ; and the executive was charged with its execution, and with causing it to be published and circulated through the confederacy. These effective measures did not prevent a conspiracy being formed in the capital, for the purpose of overturning the present government, and the restoration of Iturbide, which was afterwards discovered.

The constitutional congress passed a decree on the 28th of June 1824, for the establishment of public faith and national credit, which recognizes the debts contracted under the government of the viceroys, to the 17th of September 1810, when the independence of the nation was established; and all debts contracted with the Mexican people by the viceroys, where the loans were made by compulsion or involuntarily, from the 17th September 1810, to the entrance of the Mexican army into the capital in the year 1821. The decree also recognizes all debts contracted for the service of the nation by the independent chiefs, from the declaration of independence, to the entrance of the army into the capital, and those of the army of Iguala, or liberating army, until its occupation of the capital ; and also all debts contracted by the established governors, from the first epoch of independence. This decree is founded on the principle, as it respects the authority of Spain, that the Mexican nation was not lawfully subjected to that authority, after the declaration of its independence, and therefore it does not acknowledge the loans which were *voluntarily* made to the viceroys after that period, as such an act was affording voluntary aid to the unlawful government, attempting to enslave the nation, and in one sense, was an act of hostility against the rightful government. It seems to be somewhat doubtful, whether the debts contracted by Iturbide after his dissolution of the congress, are included in this decree ; the debts of the liberating army, are recog-

nized down to the time of its entering the capital only; so that there is no clause in the decree, which would include the debts created by Iturbide, unless it is that recognizing those of the "established governors." We should think that this was intended to include the contracts of Iturbide, during his rash and foolish usurpation, as he was an established governor *de facto*. On the 13th of July, the congress passed a decree prohibiting the importation of slaves, under the penalty of confiscation of the vessel and its cargo, if any, and the captain, owner, and purchaser of the slaves, to suffer ten years imprisonment. Slaves are free the moment they land on the Mexican soil.

The conspiracy in the Mexican capital was discovered, and twenty persons implicated, were arrested, among whom were several general officers, a number of colonels, and some citizens of distinction. The papers of the conspirators were headed, "God, independence, and the hero of Iguala;" it is said, that a woman acted as secretary. The criminals were brought to trial before a council of war, and two of them sentenced to death, and the rest to perpetual banishment. After this premature explosion of the conspiracy, the infatuated Iturbide landed at Soto la Marina in disguise, on the 14th of July 1824. He came in an English brig with Charles de Beneskie, a foreigner, who pretended that his object was to treat with the Mexican government concerning a plan of colonization, and that he had powers for that purpose, from three Irish capitalists of London. Beneskie presented himself to General Garza, military commandant, who inquired concerning Iturbide, and was informed by Beneskie, that he left him at London, residing quietly with his family. Iturbide being disguised, passed himself as the companion of Beneskie, who was permitted to go into the country, and thus attempted to advance into the interior. On the 16th, General Garza was informed by an officer who commanded a detachment of troops, that he had seen Beneskie, with another person in disguise, proceeding into the interior, which excited his suspicion. General Garza immediately went in pursuit with some troops, and overtook them at Arrogas, and immediately recognized in the disguised person, Don Augustin Iturbide, arrested him and conveyed him under a strong guard, to Soto la Marina. General Garza communicated the arrest of Iturbide to the provincial congress of the state of Tamanlipas, then in

session, which resolved that the decree of the general congress of the 28th of April 1824, be carried into immediate effect, and ordered the minister of state, to cause Iturbide to be immediately executed. Accordingly, he was shot in the town of Padillia, on the 19th of July 1824. Thus terminated the mad career of Don Augustin Iturbide, the first, and it is hoped it may long be said the last usurper of sovereign power in America. The wife and two children of Iturbide accompanied him, the rest of his family and suit were left in London. This event relieved the republic from one source of apprehension, and one cause of the vacillation of public opinion; by annihilating forever the hopes and designs of the partizans of a military usurper. It tended to concentrate public opinion in favour of the political system which had been adopted, and to give stability and energy to the government.

Since this period, the public tranquility has not been disturbed in Mexico by civil commotions; the government has been administered with success, and has enjoyed the increasing confidence of all classes of the population.

On the 1st of May 1825, the Asia seventy-four, and brig Constante, two Spanish ships of war which sailed from Callao, after the victory of Ayacucho, with some Spanish officers on board, under the command of Don Josse Martinez, surrendered to the Mexican government in Monterry, and on the 11th of June, they arrived at Acapulco. By the articles of capitulation, the Asia and Constante, with their armaments and crews, were placed at the disposal of the Mexican government, which guaranteed the safety of the individuals on board, their property and rights according to the laws of the federation. The commander Martinez, and his officers and crews, engaged to swear to the independence of Mexico; and those persons who wished to go to Spain or any other of the Spanish possessions, the government engaged to grant passports, and afford them assistance.

The only foreign relations which the Mexican federation has established, is with the United States, and the independent governments of South America.

Mexico as well as the other American states, made an attempt to secure the countenance and assistance of the United States. In 1816, the congress sent Doctor Herrera to Washington, but his mision was productive of no advantages, at least as it respected the policy of the gov-

ernment. Mexico as well as the other independent states, at one period felt some apprehension that the allied powers in Europe which interfered in the internal concerns of Spain, would extend their kind offices, to her possessions on this side the atlantic; but the disposition manifested by Great Britain, has removed such apprehensions, as her ministers have declared, that England would not agree to any cession Spain might make of the states which were *de facto* released from her dominion.

Mexico, has probably received less aid from foreigners, than most of the other new republics; some enterprises have been undertaken from the United States, against the Texas country, but these have had no influence on the great contest; and some individuals from the United States and the British isles, have engaged in the Mexican service; but she has had no foreign succor of any importance; the Mexican patriots have maintained the long and sanguinary struggle alone, without allies and without assistance; and by their own valour and perseverance, have overcome both foreign and domestic tyranny.

Mexico has maintained relations of amity with the other states engaged in the same cause, but has received no direct succour from any of them. As these states belonged to the empire, are engaged in the same struggle for their freedom, and as their political destiny must undoubtedly be the same, it was natural and politic that they should be closely united, and their efforts be uniform and in concert, in the common cause in which they are engaged. To unite them more closely, Colombia has proposed a general confederacy, to be composed of all the states of what was Spanish America. This plan has been acceded to by Peru and Chile, who have concluded treaties with Colombia to give it effect. Don Miguel Santa Maria, minister from Colombia, proposed this union to the Mexican government, during the regency of Iturbide, without success; but after the establishment of the republic, the negotiations were renewed in 1823, and resulted in a treaty between the two republics, forming the basis of a family compact, calculated to unite all the new states, for the defence of their liberty and independence, and the encouragement of their commerce, and mutual interests.* In the

* Report of Secretary of State.

year 1817, the executive of the United States sent Messrs. Bland, Rodney, and Graham, as commissioners to visit the new governments in Spanish America, to ascertain their political condition; and in 1822, congress formally and solemnly acknowledged their independence; and the same year a minister was sent from the United States to Mexico, and Mr. Poinsett is now residing there in that capacity. No other power has acknowledged, formally, the independence of Mexico; but England, France, Portugal, and Holland, admit the Mexican flag into their ports, and maintain commercial relations with Mexico.

The republic at the present time, is strengthening its marine; the Asia seventy-four, and the Constante, it is said, are to be brought round to the Atlantic side. Whether the government has any other views in increasing its naval force, than defensive preparation, is not known, but in that point of respect, it is evidently an object highly important.

SKETCH

OF THE

HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE

OF

GUATAMALA.

CHAPTER XI.

General divisions of the country—its mountains, rivers, bays, and harbours—the country subject to earthquakes —agricultural productions of the country—commerce—civil divisions—principal towns—Guatamala—Leon—government and history.

The Republic of Guatamala, or of the United Provinces of the Centre of America, comprises the territory that was formerly included in the captain-generalcy of Guatamala, with the exception of the territory of Chiapa, which has since been attached to the Mexican federation. The former captain-generalcy extended from about 82 degrees to 94 degrees of west longitude, and from 8 to 17 degrees of north latitude. The territory of the present Republic of the Centre of America, is bounded on the west by the province of Chiapa; on the north-west, by Yucatan; on the south-east by Veragua, in Colombia; on the south and south-west, by the Pacific; and on the north by the Atlantic Ocean, or Gulf of Mexico. Its length along the coast may be estimated at about seven hundred miles. The distance, from sea to sea, in no place exceeds four hundred miles, but at each end, it is not half that distance. This territory is now divided into fourteen states, or provinces; four of which are situated on the Pacific, five on the Atlantic, and five in the interior. The Pacific coast of this territory, like that of Peru, is traversed by the ridge of the Andes, which presents several lofty peaks, to the

height of nearly fifteen thousand feet above the level of the sea.

The waters of this territory are unrivalled for their convenience, and the great facilities they afford to commercial intercourse with every other part of the world. The whole southern and south-western border of the country, is washed by the gentle Pacific, the queen of oceans; and the whole of its northern border, by the Atlantic, or commodious Gulf of Mexico, the great Mediterranean Sea of the American continent. Both the Pacific and the Atlantic coasts are indented with numerous bays and harbours; the most considerable of which is the great bay of Honduras, on the Atlantic side. The bottom of this bay communicates with an extensive sheet of water, called the Gulf, or Lake of Dolee. Into this gulf are discharged several streams, the principal of which is the Rio de Verapaz. The most considerable interior waters of this territory, are the lakes Nicaragua and Leon which are connected together, forming the most extensive and beautiful sheets of water, nearly three hundred miles in circumference. They discharge their waters into the ocean, by the river San Juan, the course of which is about 90 miles. The waters of the Nicaragua, and its outlets, are said to furnish one of the most favourable and practicable routes for a ship canal, or water communication, between the Atlantic and Pacific. The distance from Lake Leon, (which communicates, as has been observed, with Lake Nicaragua,) to the Pacific ocean, is said by some authorities to be thirty miles, and by others, to be only fifteen; the land is level all the way across to the Pacific. It is stated, that the outlet of the Nicaragua, the San Juan, might be so deepened with little expense, as to be made navigable. A survey of this route is already projected; and should it be carried into effect, and the report be favourable, it is not improbable that this great work of uniting the waters of the Pacific and Atlantic, which has awakened the attention of this age of enterprize and improvement, may soon be undertaken and finally accomplished, by which event the Nicaragua and its waters will become the great thoroughfare for the commercial world.

Veragua, in the province of the same name, is remarkable for the verdant hue of its waters, from whence it received the name of *Verdes Aguas*. There are various other rivers in this territory, that discharge their waters into both

the Atlantic and Pacific, but their courses have not been accurately described.

The principal seaports are Sansonata, on the Pacific, ninety miles south-west of the city of Guatamala; Onoa, in 16 degrees north latitude; Truxillo, and Puerto Cavallos, on the Bay of Honduras. The northern coast of Honduras is called the Musquito shore, and is inhabited by the Musquito Indians, an indolent ignorant race, much attached to the British, who have settlements on the Balize river, which falls into the Bay of Honduras; they ascend the river two hundred miles, for the purpose of cutting log-wood.

Guatamala lies wholly within the tropics; and enjoys a climate similar to that portion of Mexico lying within the same zone—a climate peculiar to America, which has none of the varieties of the seasons, and which embraces in the same degree of latitude, a graduation of temperature from the desolating heat of a tropical sun, to the atmosphere of perpetual frost. This seems almost a derangement of nature, as the frigid, the temperate, and the torrid zones, are brought together under the equator. The temperature does not depend on the degree of latitude, but on the elevation from the sea. The country, like Mexico, from the peculiarity of its climate, produces the cerealia, or grains of temperate climates, and likewise the fruits, in the same latitude with the productions of the tropics.

In the states of Guatamala and Honduras, the vallies are well watered, and the streams overflowing their banks. The soil is extremely fertile. On the low and marshy shore of the Bay of Honduras, log-wood abounds of a most excellent quality. This bay includes a compass of five hundred miles, and is of dangerous navigation. There are several islands on the coast of this bay, one of which, called Rattan, is about thirty miles in length, and long the resort of pirates; and to prevent their depredations, the British established a settlement on it. The province, or State of Guatamala, has been much subject to earthquakes; and the city of that name, which formerly stood in a beautiful valley near the west coast, was repeatedly destroyed by volcanic eruptions, which occasioned it to be removed to its present situation, on a plain, about twenty-four miles from its former scite. The province of Nicaragua has also been visited by earthquakes; and on the west

border of the lake, near the town of Grenada, is a volcanic mountain.

The agricultural productions of this republic are various and abundant, of which the following are the principal—indigo, tobacco of a superior quality, cocoa, vanilla, sarsaparilla, woods of various kinds, balsam, sugar, tar, pitch, rice, corn, wheat, cotton, copper, silver, gold, hides, spices, ginger, honey, and gums. At New-Segovia, and other places, there are valuable silver and gold mines, which are worked.

The chief articles of exportation are cocoa, cattle, indigo, cotton, and dye-woods. The log-wood trade, and that in the indigo of Guatamala, have been the most important. As early as 1730, the British established a settlement on Black River, seventy-five miles to the east of Honduras, and another on a navigable stream, near Cape Gracios a Dios, for the purpose of the log-wood trade. At the latter place there is a spacious and secure road for ships The country being extremely level, these small streams are navigable a considerable distance, and are ascended for the purpose of cutting dye-woods. The log-wood cut here is of the best quality, and superior to that on the borders of the Bay of Campeachy.

The indigo of Guatamala is of excellent quality, and has long been an important article of commerce. The rich pastures of Guatamala, covered with perpetual verdure, support vast herds of cattle; and hides form a considerable article of commerce. A coasting trade is carried on with San Blas, in Mexico, Panama, in Colombia, and Lima, in Peru; the town of Granada, as well as Guatamala, is a place of considerable commercial activity. The revolution which is calculated to give a stimulus to industry of every kind, cannot fail, should the republic continue tranquil, to promote the commerce of a country so advantageously situated for trade, and possessing such great and diversified agricultural resources.

PROVINCES OF GUATAMALA.

	Population in 1778.	Population in 1796.	Increase of 10 per ct. for 10 yrs. to 1823.
PROVINCE OF CHIAPA, *the most western on the Pacific.*			
Population, ...	69,253	99,001	128,025
DISTRICT OF CIUDAD REAL.			
Principal Towns.			
Ciudad Real,			
San Fernando,			
Guadaloupe,			
Smacantan,			
Chamula,			
Los Llanos,			
Comitan,			
Ocosingo,			
Palenque.			
DISTRICT OF TUXTLA.			
Principal Towns.			
Tuxtla,			
Chiapa de Indios,			
Techatlan.			
DISTRICT OF SOCONUSCO.			
Principal Towns.			
Escuintla,			
Tapachula.			
PROVINCE OF SUCHILTEPEQUES.			
Population, ...	17,535		26,953
Principal Towns.			
Suchiltepeques,			
Mazatenango,			
Lorenzo el Real,			
Coyutenango,			
Zamayague,			
Retaluleuch,			
Sacatepeques.			
Carried forward, . . .	86,788		154,978

	Population in 1778.		Increase of 16 per ct. for 10 yrs. to 1823.
Brought forward, . . .	86,788		154,978
PROVINCE OF ESCUINTLA.			
Population, ...	24,978		38,396
DISTRICT OF ESCUINTLA.			
Principal Towns.			
Escuintla,			
Masagua.			
DISTRICT OF GUAZACAPAN.			
Principal Towns.			
Guazacapan.			
Chiquimulilla.			
PROVINCE OF ZONZONATE.			
Population, ...	29,248		44,959
Principal Towns.			
Zonzonate,			
Acajutla,			
Aguachapa,			
Izalco.			
PROVINCE OF SAN SALVADOR, *the most eastern province on the Pacific.*			
Population, ...	137,270		211,024
DISTRICT OF SANTA ANA.			
Principal Towns.			
Santa Ana,			
Chulchuapa,			
Metapas.			
DISTRICT OF SAN SALVADOR.			
Principal Towns.			
San Salvador,			
Nejapa,			
Zejutla,			
San Jacinto,			
Sochitolo,			
Cojutepeque,			
Texacuangos,			
Carried forward, . . .	278,284		449,357

	Population in 1778.		Increase of 10 per ct. for ten yrs. to 1823.
Brought forward, . . .	278,284		449,357
Olauitla,			
Toracatepeque,			
Chalalenango,			
Masagua.			
DISTRICT OF SAN VICENTE.			
Principal Towns.			
Lorenzana, or San Vicente,			
Sacatecoluca,			
Apastepeque,			
Istepeque,			
Tepetilan.			
DISTRICT OF SAN MIGUEL.			
Principal Towns.			
San Miguel,			
Chinameca.			
PROVINCE OF VERA PAZ, *the most western province on the Atlantic.*			
Population, ...	52,138		79,802
Principal Towns.			
San Domingo, Coban the capital,			
Rabinal,			
Salama,			
Cahaban.			
DISTRICT OF PETEN includes the Lake of Itza or Peten, about 26 leagues in circumference, situated between Ver Paz, Chiapa and Yucatan. On a large Island two leagues from the shore, called Peten, stands the Fortress of Los Remedios.			
PROVINCE OF CHIQUIMULA.			
Population, ...	52,423		80,240
Carried forward, . . .	382,845		609,399

	Population in 1791.	Population in 1791.	Increase of 10 per ct. for 10 yrs. to 1823.
Brought forward, . . .	382,845		609,399
DISTRICT OF ACASAGUASTLAN.			
Principal Towns.			
Acasaguastlan and Zacapa.			
DISTRICT OF CHIQUIMUALA.			
Principal Towns.			
Chiquimula de la Sierra and Santiago Esquipulas.			
PROVINCE OF HONDURAS.			
Population, - - - - -		93,501	126,938
DISTRICT OF COMAZAGUA.			
Principal Towns.			
Truxillo,			
Gracias a Dios,			
New Valladolid, or Comayagua, the capital of Honduras,			
Buena Vista,			
Trumfo de la Cruz,			
Naco,			
Tula,			
Olanchito,			
Sonaguera,			
Yaro,			
Tencoa,			
Olancho,			
Morolicha.			
Copan.			
DISTRICT OF TEGUCIGALPA.			
Principal Towns.			
Tegucigalpa,			
Xeres la Frontera, in the Valley of Cholucteca and El Corpus.			
Carried forward, . . .	382,845		736,337

	Population in 1778.		Increase of 10 per ct. for 10 yrs. to 1823.
Brought forward, . . .	382,845		736,337
PROVINCE OF NICARAGUA.			
Population, ...	106,926		164,374
DISTRICT OF LEON; besides the capital of the same name, contains the cities Grenada and New Segovia; and the towns of Nicaragua, Esteli Alcoyapa, Villa Nueva and Masaya—Granada is situated near the Lake of Nicaragua.			
DISTRICT OF MATAGALPA.			
DISTRICT OF REALEJO.			
Principal Towns.			
Realejo and el Viejo.			
DISTRICT OF SUBTIAVA—*Capital town of the same name.*			
DISTRICT OF NICOYA..			
Nicoya, the capital.			
PROVINCE OF COSTA RICA, *the most eastern province on the Atlantic.*			
Population, ...	24,536		37,716
City of Cartago, the capital.			
Principal Towns.			
San Jose,			
Villa Vieja,			
Villa Hermosa,			
Esparza,			
Baguses,			
Ujanas.			
Between Nicaragua and Comayagua are the provinces of Zagrezgalpa and Zologalpa, peopled by Indians, who have			
Carried forward, . . .	514,307		938,427

	Population in 7178.		Increase of 10 per cent. for 10 years to 1823.
Brought forward, . . .	514,307		938,427
not been converted to the Christian Religion.—They are called indiscriminately Xicaques, Moscos and Sambos.			
PROVINCE OF TOTONICAPAN, *the most western of the interior provinces.*			
Population, ...	58,200		89,083
DISTRICT OF GUEGUITENANGO			
Principal Towns.			
Conception,			
Gueguitenango,			
Chiantla,			
Sacapulas,			
Yectatan and Motocinta.			
DISTRICT OF TOLONICAPAN.			
Principal Towns.			
Tolonicapan,			
Cahcaju and Sija.			
PROVINCE OF QUEZALTENANGO.			
Population, ...	28,563		43,857
Principal Towns.			
Quezaltenango,			
Sactatepeque,			
Tazumulco.			
PROVINCE OF SOLOLA.			
Population, ...	27,953		42,965
DISTRICT OF SOLOLA.			
Principal Towns.			
Solola, called by the Indians Tecpanatitlan,			
Quiche, called at the time of the conquest Utatlan, the residence of the Sovereigns of Quiche.			
Carried forward, . . .	629,023		1,114,332

	Population in 1778.		Increase of 10 per cent. for 10 years, to 1823.
Brought forward, . . .	629,025		1,114,332
DISTRICT OF ATITLAN. Capital town of the same name.			
PROVINCE OF CHIMALTENANGO,			
Population, ...	40,082		61,616
Principal Towns. Chimaltenango, Tecpanguatemala, Patzuno, Comalapam, Patzizia, Itzapa, Xilotepeque.			
PROVINCE OF SACATEPEQUES, *the most eastern of the interior provinces.*			
Population, ...	75,220		115,634
The city of Guatamala which contained in 1795 24,434 inhabitants, the capital of the kingdom, is situated in this province.			
The Principal Towns are: La Antigua Guatamala, Sacatepeques, Petapa, Amatitan, Texar, Mixco,			
Carried forward, . . .	744,325		1,291,582

	Population in 1778.		Increase of 10 per cent. for 10 years to 1823.
Brought forward, . . .	744,325		1,291,582
Pinula,			
Asuncion,			
Guadaloupe,			
The population of Honduras in 1778 omitted, . . .	87,730		
Total,*	832,055		1,291,582

Principal Towns —The city of Guatamala is the capital of the republic; and stands in a beautiful interior plain, in latitude 14 degrees north. It is a large town, containing a university, and numerous convents and churches, with a population, estimated by some at forty thousand, by others at twenty-four thousand.

Leon, the capital of the State of Nicaragua, is situated near the Pacific, on the south-west border of the lake of the same name, distinctly seen from the hill of St. Petre, in the vicinity, and from which the roar of the sea may be frequently heard, although the distance is twelve miles. The climate is warm, but the town is healthy; the public offices of the province are located here; its public buildings consist of a cathedral, a university, and three convents. The population of Leon, and that of the two adjoining parishes, amounts to thirty-two thousand.

The other principal towns are Granada, Nicaragua, Masaya, and San Salvador. Conception is a small place, near a ruin of the same name. Santa Fe, is a small town, and a bishop see, in the middle of the ancient province of Veragua. Santiago, a small place, and bishop see, in the middle of the province of Costa Rica, or Rich Coast, so named from its mines, which were formerly worked, but they have been abandoned in consequence of the dif-

* The account of the population, as here published, is taken from an official statement made 1778.

The settlement of the English in the Bay of Honduras is called the Balize.

ficulty and expense of working them. Valladolid, is an inconsiderable place, and a bishop see, situated in a pleasant valley, in the State of Honduras, and one hudred miles east of which is St. Jago, both formerly towns of considerable business, but now greatly declined. About ninety miles east of the town of Guatamala, is Sansanata, or Trinidad, which is the nearest harbour for ships from Panama or Peru, trading with Guatamala.

Government and History.—The revolution of Iguala which overthrew the royal government in Mexico, enabled Guatamala, also, to throw off the Spanish yoke; and as the events in Mexico had occasioned the emancipation of the neighbouring territory of the Central Provinces, this, and other circumstances favoured a union between the two countries; and the Central Provinces were considered as annexed to the Mexican Empire. From the comparatively small importance of these provinces, they have participated but little in the struggles and sacrifices of the revolution, so far as respects the contest with Spain, their battles having been fought in Mexico and Colombia; the contest would naturally be with the most populous and powerful colonial governments, and the struggle fell heavily on Colombia and Mexico. Their success and emancipation, was the success and emancipation of the Central Provinces. But although Guatamala has been in a great measure free from the struggles with the royal government, it has not escaped the agitations and contentions of the revolution. Almost immediately after the Central Provinces were annexed to the Mexican Empire, symptoms of uneasiness and disaffection appeared among the inhabitants. The province of San Salvador taking the lead, revolted against the imperial government of Mexico, declared the union to be forced and illegal, and prepared to defend its independence by arms. Troops were sent against them by the imperial government, and they were compelled to submit; but soon after the Mexican forces were removed, they prepared to make another effort to maintain their independence, and resist the union with Mexico. But before they had an occasion to do it, the imperial government was dissolved; and the government which succeeded it, being entirely occupied with its own affairs, the Central Provinces were for some time left to themselves. Availing themselves of this opportunity, they convoked a congress in the capital, declared the act of

union with Mexico null and void, and erected that country into a republic by the title of *The United Provinces of the Centre of America.* The Mexican government did not think it advisable to oppose the will of Guatamala, and ordered general Tilisola, who commanded the army, destined against that territory, to return with his troops.

For a considerable time, however, the Mexican government declined to acknowledge the independence of the Central Republic, although they made no attempt to reclaim it, or establish their dominion over it, and at length after the government had got into operation, they recognized its independence. For some time after the act of separation from Mexico, and the establishment of the republic, the tranquillity of the interior, continued to be disturbed, and symptoms of disunion appeared in the provinces. The province of Chiapa determined to adhere to the Mexican union, and now forms one of the states of that republic; but all the other provinces finally declared in favour of independence, and the general or federal government. Tranquillity has at length been restored, and the government gradually acquired stability and energy; and now maintains friendly relations with the neighbouring independent republics.

The government of the united provinces, is a federal republic, called the Confederation of the Centre of America, similar to that of Mexico, and like that, formed on the model of the government of the United States. The constitution provides for a general or national government, and local or state governments, for the direction of internal concerns. The national legislation is vested in a general congress, consisting of a chamber of deputies, elected in the proportion of one to every thirty thousand of the population; and a senate composed of two members from each state, chosen by the electors, and not by the provincial assemblies. The chamber of deputies is to be renewed one half every year, and the same person is eligible only the second time, in succession; but is again eligible after an interval of one term. The powers of the national legislature, are much the same as those of our congress, and the only essential difference in the two bodies, is, that in Guatamala, the senators are chosen by the people, and not by the states; and consequently are not the representatives of the states in their corporate character. The executive power is vested in a president and vice-president, elected by the

people, for the term of four years, and are eligible a second time in succession. The vice-president presides in the senate. In the organization of the judiciary, the constitution departs widely from what are considered established principles. Instead of being independent, and raised above the popular influence, the judges of the supreme court are elected by the people, one third to be renewed every two years; there is however no ineligibility of the members.

The provincial, or state governments, consist of a popular assembly and senate, and two executive chiefs, one governor, and the other president of the senate, elected by the people, for the term of four years, and eligible once only without an interval. On the subject of religion, the constitution is the same as those of the other new governments, formed in Spanish America; the Roman Catholic is established as the national faith, which is defended by law, and all others prohibited.

A

VIEW

OF

SOUTH-AMERICA

AND

MEXICO,

COMPRISING

THEIR HISTORY, THE POLITICAL CONDITION, GEOGRAPHY, AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, &c. OF THE REPUBLICS OF MEXICO, GUATAMALA, COLOMBIA, PERU, THE UNITED PROVINCES OF SOUTH-AMERICA AND CHILE, WITH A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION, IN EACH OF THESE

INDEPENDENT STATES.

BY A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

VOL. II.

NEW-YORK:

PUBLISHED BY H. HUNTINGTON, JR.

1825.

District of Connecticut, ss.

L. S. BE IT REMEMBERED: That on the twenty-second day of October, in the fiftieth year of the independence of the United States of America, H. HUNTINGTON, JR. of the said district, has deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit. "A View of South-America and Mexico, comprising their history, the political condition, geography, agriculture, commerce, &c. of the republics of Mexico, Guatamala, Colombia, Peru, the United Provinces of South-America and Chile, with a complete history of the Revolution, in each of these Independent States. —By a Citizen of the United States.—Two volumes in one. Vol. II."

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned."

CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,
Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

A true copy of Record, examined and Sealed by me,
CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,
Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

COLOMBIA.

CHAPTER I.

General Description—Proposed Route of the Great Canal—Climate, Soil, and Productions—Drugs and Medicinal Productions—Civil Divisions—Population and Principal Towns—Mines—Roads, Canals, &c.—Government—Commerce—Manufactures, &c.—Army—Navy, &c.—Character of the People—Education—Religion.

The Republic of Colombia comprises an extent of country, embracing 22 deg. or 1320 miles of longitude, stretching from the mouth of the Orinoco, to the western extremity of the Isthmus of Panama; and of 18 degrees, or 1080 miles of latitude, extending 11 1-2 degrees to the north, and 6 1-2 to the south of the equator, calculating from Cape la Vela to the southern extremity of the Republic. This vast territory is bounded, north and east by the Atlantic ocean, and by the territories of Guiana; west, by the republic of Guatamala, or central America, and the Pacific ocean, and south by the republic of Peru, and the river Amazon. The territory comprised within the above mentioned limits, constitutes one of the most magnificent regions on the globe. Bordering on two oceans, its waters are unrivalled; it embraces a large portion of the immense valley of the Amazon, with the whole of the great vallies of the Orinoco and Magdalena, and is traversed by some of the loftiest mountains in the world. It possesses every diversity of soil and climate; unrivalled commercial advantages, and mineral treasures, which afford the most powerful stimulus, and promise the greatest reward to the industry and enterprise of civilized man.

The Cordillera of the Andes, which traverses the whole continent of South America, in the southern part of the epublic, divides into two parallel ranges, forming the

lofty valley of Quito, the plain of which is elevated 9000 feet above the level of the Ocean. To the right of this valley, rise the summits of the Copacureu, 16,380 feet high; Tunguragua, 16,720 feet high; Cotopaxi, 17,950; and Guyambu, 18,180.

To the left is Chimborazo, towering above the clouds, whose height is 20,100 feet; Tlenisa, 16,302; and Petchinca, 15,380, all covered with perpetual snows, and subject to volcanic eruptions. Near Tulcan, the Cordillera, after having been irregularly united by lofty groups of mountains, again divides itself into two chains, which, form the elevated valley of Pastos, beyond which it diverges into three ridges, the most western following the coast of the Pacific ocean, terminates in the Isthmus of Panama; the central divides the valley of Cauca from that of the Magdalena, and declines near Mompox, on the river Magdalena. The eastern chain is the most considerable and the loftiest of the three; it is here the numberless streams which unite to swell the majestic Orinoco have their rise; and it forms the table land, on which stands the city of Santa Fe de Bogota, at an elevation of 8,100 feet. This range again divides into two ridges, one of which extends to the north, dividing the waters of the Magdalena from those that fall into the lake Maracaibo, and terminates near the ocean in the province of Santa Martha; the other, with its numerous branches and ramifications, takes a north easterly direction along the maritime border of the Republic, and finally is lost at the gulf of Paria, constituting the northern boundary of the great valley of the Orinoco. The southern boundary of this valley, is terminated by the Parama mountains, which extend from near the Andes easterly, and are lost in Guiana. To the south of this ridge, lies the most extensive valley on the globe, watered by the majestic Amazon, and its innumerable branches.

The waters of Colombia are unrivalled, affording superior advantages for commerce, both internal and foreign. In addition to its extensive maritime border on the Atlantic, which reaches from the Isthmus of Panama to Guiana, and abounds with numerous harbours, some of which are among the best in the world, it has an extensive sea coast on the Pacific, which also affords a number of good harbours. The most valuable harbours on the Atlantic coast are Porto Bello, Chagres, Carthagena, Savannilla, at the mouth of the Magdalena; Rio de Hacha, Santa Mar-

tha, the gulf or lake of Maracaibo, Coro, Tacargua, Puerto Cabello, Laguayra, Barcelona, Cumana, and the gulfs of Paria and Cariaco. On the Pacific, are the gulf of Guayaquil, and the bays Buenaventura, or Choco, and Panama. The internal waters are extensive and valuable. The superb river Amazon, which waters the most fertile regions of the globe, clothed in perpetual verdure, and blooming with fruits and flowers, washes the southern border of the republic. This majestic stream, flowing over golden sands, through groves of cinnamon and spices and primitive forests, of the most magnificent character, taking its rise among the auriferous mountains of Peru, and discharging its immense volume of waters into the Atlantic, under the line, is said to be navigable to the foot of the Cordillera of the eastern Andes. A free navigation, of this noble river, would afford incalculable advantages to the commercial world, and is a subject worthy of the attention of the enlightened government of Colombia. The next river, in magnitude and importance, is the Orinoco, which rises in the heart of the republic, and after a course of nearly 1500 miles, in a north easterly direction, discharges the mighty waters of its numerous branches into the Atlantic, in latitude 9 deg. north. The Meta and Apure are the two principal branches of the Orinoco. These magnificent rivers are subject to periodical overflowings, which convert the whole country during four months of the year into an immense lake or inland sea; and when the floods retire, the whole plain is coverd with luxuriant pasture, on which innumerable herds of cattle are raised: nor are these plains less rich in agricultural advantages. The banks of the rivers are covered with primeval forests, of the most precious kinds of woods, for dyeing, furniture and building; and exhibit, when cleared, a soil capable of yielding, abundantly, every species of tropical produce.

The climate, though hot, is neither so unhealthy nor debilitating, as that of the sea-coast, the air being refreshed and purified by the strong breezes blowing constantly over this verdant plain, which extends not less than 300 miles in every direction, between the Andes and the Orinoco. The great valley of the Orinoco is wholly within the territory of the republic, and will, undoubtedly, at some future period, sustain a great population, when its resources become fully developed. The Orinoco is navigable for sea vessels, to the city of Angostura, and for smaller vessels, further into the country. The use of steam boats will probably

give great extention to navigation of this river and its branches, as it is stated that the Meta is capable of being navigated to within 150 miles of the City of Bogota. The next most considerable river is the Magdalena, which descends to the north more than 700 miles through the vallies of the Andes, and is navigable to the port of Honda, 550 miles from its entrance into the Atlantic. This river communicates directly with some of the richest sections of the republic, and is represented to be very favourable to steam navigation; the Cauca runs through a valley of the same name, and unites with the Magdalena.

The next most considerable river to the west, is the Atrato, which falls into the gulf of Darien. This stream, together with the St. Juan of the Pacific, is said to afford the best route for a canal, to unite the two oceans.

"A communication can be effected by making a canal from the head waters of the Atrato, a fine navigable river falling into the gulf of Darien, in lat. 8, and the River St. Juan de Chirambira which falls into a bay of the same name, in the Pacific ocean, in lat. 4. The point of junction would be at about 400 miles from the Atlantic, and about 260 from the Pacific. About 15 miles of the river Atrato, or rather the Quito, which flows into the Atrato, would require a few locks, but not many, as the current of the river is only, in the dry season, about one mile per hour. Twenty miles too of the St. Juan would require locking, leaving an intervening space of level land of only *four miles and a half* to cut through. The rivers Atrato, Quito, and St. Juan de Chirambira are free from every sort of obstruction until we reach the points where the locking becomes necessary; and there is depth enough on the Atlantic side for vessels drawing seven, and on the Pacific, twenty feet of water. The rivers flow through a country abounding with the most magnificent forests of mahogany, dye-woods, and other valuable timber, and the only disadvantageous circumstance is, that the mouth of the Atrato is obstructed with a bar, upon which there is only seven feet of water. We should, however, not despair of human ingenuity, devising some means to remedy this impediment.

Nature seems to have designed this for the passage. The frowning Andes are here for a moment lost, and in obedience to the will of Providence and the wants of man, seem here to have defiled, that commerce may march from

the old world to the new. It is a fact no less curious than true, that a canal did formerly exist in this spot.—About the year 1745, a priest of Citira, with the assistance of the Indians, opened this same communication known by the name of the Raspadura canal, through which loaded canoes passed; but the jealous policy of the Spanish Government caused it to be closed, and prohibited, under severe penalties, any attempt to re-open it. The remains of this canal are visible to the present hour, and the fact is mentioned by Humboldt, Bonnycastle, and Robinson. We derive this information from a gentleman now in this city, who has resided twelve years in Colombia, and who has travelled over every part of the route from sea to sea. The utmost confidence may of course be reposed in his statements; he has, moreover, constructed a map in which the entire tract of the country is accurately laid down.

In 1821 the same gentleman applied to the Government of Colombia for permission to open this communication at his own expense, with exclusive privileges for one hundred years. The Congress passed a vote in favour of the application, but it was objected to by Bolivar, on the ground that it might afford facilities to the enemy. The applicant was, however, desired to renew his proposals at the peace, for a term somewhat less than 100 years, which he is now about to do, and nothing, we believe, will defeat his object, but the fact of the Government, which is not improbable, undertaking the business itself."

The present year, this route has been examined by an agent employed for the purpose, by a company of merchants in the city of New-York; whose report of its practicability, it is understood, was favourable.

The river Chagres falls into the Atlantic, at a Town of the same name, 18 leagues west of Porto Bello, and is navigable as far as Cruzes, within five leagues of Panama. The Palmar and Zulia, are the chief tributaries of Lake Maracaibo; the other considerable and navigable rivers, are the Tocuyo, the Aroa, the Yaracay, Tuy, and Unare, all of which run to the north, and discharge their waters into the Atlantic ocean; and most of which are accommodated with harbours, and some of them are navigable a considerable distance. In addition to the St. Juan, the Pacific border has the Guayaquil, which empties into the Gulf of that name, and many smaller rivers.

Climate, Soil, and Productions.——The climate of Colombia, although the whole country lies geographi-

cally, within the torrid zone, possesses all the characteristics which diversify the three zones into which the earth is divided. With respect to climate, soil, and productions, the tract of country adjacent to its maritime border, both on the Atlantic and Pacific, is invariably hot, and generally unhealthy, to strangers from northern climates. The soil here is luxuriant wherever it is sufficiently watered by rivers or periodical rains, and produces abundantly all the natural and agricultural productions common to tropical regions; sugar, cotton, coffee, cocoa, indigo, tobacco, and the various kinds of dye woods abundantly reward the hand of industry, and constitute the staple productions of this region. The extensive vallies lying on the borders of the great rivers, have a climate somewhat more temperate, affording the greatest variety of productions, and support immense herds of cattle on their verdant savannas. Hence hides have become one of the great staples of the country, and are exported in great quantities. In the elevated vallies, at the height of 4000 feet above the level of the sea, the climate becomes temperate, and vegetation continues uninterrupted through the year. Leguminous plants, wheat, the fruits of the temperate zones, are abundant and of the best quality. Here, venomous insects and serpents are rarely met with, and the human system acknowledges the grateful salubrity of a temperature fitted alike for enjoyment and labour.

Advancing to the height of 9000 feet, through all varieties of the temperate zone, the air becomes cold, the sky usually cloudy, and vegetation is slow in growth and stinted in appearance; ascending still higher, the cold increases, and nature every where exhibits the sterility of the frozen zone; and at length, at the height of 15,700 feet, vegetation ceases entirely: no living creature passes this dreary limit, where naked rocks and perpetual snows mark the reign of eternal frost and solitude. To the agricultural and natural productions already mentioned, many precious drugs and medicines, might be added; a great variety of dying plants, bees wax, honey, cochineal, which abounds about Quito; the coarser metals, copper and iron, are found abundantly in many places; the precious metals also enrich many districts, particularly Choco and Antioquia, where considerable quantities of gold, silver, and platina, have been obtained. The article platina is said to exist in great abundance in Choco, and emeralds

abound in many parts of the country. Salt is also among the natural productions of this country; immense herds of cattle and horses are found running wild in the woods and savannas, with plenty of sheep and deer. There is, also, an abundant supply of wild fowls, and the coast and rivers are well stored with turtle and fish common to tropical regions.

Civil Divisions, Population, and Principal Towns.—The Territory now comprised within the Republic of Colombia, previous to the revolution, formed the Vice Royalty of New Grenada, and Captain-generalcy of Caraccas. The western section of New Grenada, comprehends the 20 following provinces which contained, previous to the revolution, a population of 2,430,000 souls, as will be seen in the annexed table.

Rio Hacha,	20,000	Cundinamarca,	130,000
Santa Martha,	70,000	Mariquita,	100,000
Carthagena,	210,000	Popayan,	320,000
Panama,	50,000	Casanare,	20,000
Antioquia,	110,000	Quito,	500,000
Socoro,	130,000	Cuenca,	200,000
Pamplona,	30,000	Guayaquil,	50,000
Tunia,	200,000	Loxa and Jean,	80,000
Choco,	40,000	Quixos and Maynas,	40,000

The population of the eastern section of the republic, or the Captain-generalcy of Venezuela, before the revolution, was as follows :

Venezuela,	460,000	Barinas,	90,000
Cumana,	100,000	Guyana,	40,000
Maracaibo,	120,000	Total,	825,000

The island of Margarita 15,000.

The provinces of New Grenada suffered much less by the revolution, have been longer tranquil than those of Venezuela, and have probably maintained their original population with perhaps some increase within the last six years. But Caraccas, or Venezuela, having been the seat of war for nearly twelve years, experiencing all its horrors and devastations in constant succession, has suffered an unexampled diminution of its inhabitants; nearly one half are supposed to have been destroyed, and whole districts depopulated. Years of peace and tranquillity will be required to supply the waste of life which has been occa-

sioned, by a revolution, unexampled for violence, and blood shed, by the ravages of the desolating Spanish armies in a war of extermination. Within the last two or three years, the tide of emigration has set towards this country, both from Europe and the United States, and should the war not be revived with Spain, which is little to be apprehended, it will probably rapidly increase, and thousands of the enterprising and industrious population of Europe and North America will be transplanted to the fertile regions of Colombia. In the year 1822, the Republic was divided into seven departments and 32 provinces, exhibited in the following table, from which it appears that the population was much diminished by the revolution:

Departments.	Provinces.	Pop. of each prov	Pop. of each dep.	Senators.	Representa's.
Orinoco,	Guiana,	45,000			2
	Cumana,	70,000			2
	Barcelona,	45,000			2
	Margarita,	15,000	175,000	4	1—7
Venezuela,	Caraccas,	350,000			12
	Barinas,	80,000	430,000	4	3—15
Zulia,	Coro,	30,000			1
	Truxillo,	33,400			1
	Merida,	50,000			2
	Maracaibo,	48,700	162,100	4	2—6
Boyaca,	Tunja,	200,000			7
	Socoro,	150,000			5
	Pamplona,	75,000			3
	Casanare,	13,000	444,000	4	1—16
Cundinamarca,	Bogota,	172,000			6
	Antioquia,	104,000			3
	Mariquita,	45,000			2
	Neyva,	50,000	371,000	4	2—13
Cauca,	Popayan,	171,000			6
	Choco,	22,000	133,000	4	1—1
Magdalena,	Carthagena,	170,000			6
	Santha Martha,	62,700			2
	Rio Hacha,	7,000	239,500	4	1—9
	Quito,	250,000			8
	Quixos Majas,	35,000			1
	Cuenca,	78,000			3
	Jaen,	13,000			1
	Maynas,	56,000			1
	Loxa,	48,000			2
	Guayaquil,	30,000	550,000		1—3
	Panama,	50,000			
	Veragua,	30,000	80,000		
			2,644,600	28	95

The provinces formerly known under the general name of Quito, together with Panama, and Veragua, when this division was made, were not formed into departments or senatorial districts. Since that period, several alterations have been made in the division of the Republic.

The population of Colombia, like the other counties in America, settled by Spaniards, consists of European Spaniards, Creoles, or descendants of Spaniards, Negroes, Indians, and the different castes or races. With respect to the European Spaniards, their numbers, always small, have been greatly diminished, by the revolution, and few are now remaining in the country. Most of this class being hostile to the Independence of America, took a part in the revolution, and either fell victims to its ravages, or returned to Spain. A portion of the Indians are civilized, and citizens of the republic; whilst others, like the Indians in the United States, are independent tribes, and not included in the estimate of the population of the country.

The negroes and mixed races are mostly free, and have contributed greatly to fill the ranks of the Republican army; and some of this class have risen to distinction in the army, and are considered among the firmest supporters of the independence of the republic.

According to a subsequent organization; the republic was divided into ten departments; each department is provided with an Intendant appointed by the president and other subordinate officers, for purposes of civil government and the administration of Justice. The departments are, five of them Maritime, on the borders of the Atlantic; two on the Pacific, and three in the interior. The departments on the Atlantic are, Orinoco on the east, which comprehends the Provinces of Guiana, Cumana, Barcelona, and the island of Margarita. The seat of the departmental government is Cumana; the next west is the department of Venezuela, which includes the province of Barinas; this is one of the wealthiest and most populous departments of the republic. The city of Caraccas is the seat of Government. The department of Zulia comprehends the provinces of Coro, Merida, Truxillo, and Maracaibo. The residence of the departmental government is at Maracaibo, a seaport town situated on the gulf or Lake of the same name. This beautiful sheet of water extends 150 miles into the interior, and is 70 or 80 miles broad, receiving nearly one hundred rivers and

smaller streams into its immense basin, and affording the greatest facilities for commerce with the interior. The department of Magdalena comprehends the provinces of Río Hacha, Santa Martha, and Carthagena. The city of Carthagena is an important naval station, and is the seat of government. The department of the Isthmus, includes the Isthmus of Panama, one of the most important commercial positions in the world.

The department of Cauca, includes the provinces on the northern border of the Pacific ocean.

The departments of Cundinamarca and Boyaca include the provinces on the elevated plains of the Andes, and the head waters of the great river Orinoco. The enlightened and patriotic city of Bogota, the present seat of the national government, is likewise the seat of the departmental government of the former of these departments. The latter of these departments, derives its name from the glorious battle of Boyaca, which was fought, August 7, 1819, and terminated in the complete overthrow of the royal army, and the consequent liberation of New Grenada from the Spanish yoke. The departments of Quito and Guayaquil include the provinces in the southorn section of the republic. The populous manufacturing city of Quito, is the capital of the former, and the commercial city of Guayaquil, the seat of departmental government of the latter. The first of these departments, has recently been added to the Republic by conquest, and the latter by the request of its government and citizens. By a law of congress passed June 25th, 1824, the Republic is divided into twelve departments, embracing 37 provinces, and 230 cantons, which are farther subdivided into parishes. Each parish holds what is called a parochial assembly, on a stated day, once in four years; and at these assemblies the electors or members of the electoral colleges are chosen by persons duly qualified to be voters, who choose the representatives to congress, and other officers of the government. The names of the twelve departments, into which the republic is now divided, are the following: Orinoco, Venezuela, Apure, Zulia, Boyaca, Cundinamarca, Magdalena, Cauca, Istmo, Escuador, Asuay and Guayaquil. The principal cities of the republic are, Bogota, Quito, and Caraccas.

Bogota, which has been the seat of the national government, since the adoption of the constitution, is situated in

lat. 4 deg. 35 min. N. at an elevation of 8,100 feet above the level of the sea, on a beautiful and spacious plain on the banks of a river of the same name, a tributary of the Magdalena, thirty-five miles from its mouth. It lies a considerable distance east of the western Andes. The streets of the city are broad, straight, and regular, and the houses are handsome.

The Cathedral is magnificent, and richly endowed; there are 3 parish churches, 8 monasteries, 4 nunneries, and one hospital. The public institutions, are an University, a mint, a mining school, and a library, containing a very great and valuable collection of books. The city has a very central position, with a temperate and salubrious climate, and is surrounded by one of the most healthy and fertile regions in Colombia. It was the seat of the Spanish Vice Royal government, before the revolution. Its present population is estimated at 35,000. Bogota was founded by Quesada, in 1538; its distance from the Atlantic ocean, by the way of Magdalena, is 600 miles, and from the Pacific, at the bay of Buenaventura, 217 miles. It is 150 miles from the navigable waters of the Meta, a branch of the Orinoco, and 60 miles from the port of Honda, the head of navigation on the Magdalena.

The citizens of Bogota have been distinguished for their patriotism, during the long struggle of the revolution, and have made great sacrifices for the cause of Liberty. It is proposed to remove the seat of government from this city, to the town of Ocana, until the new city, to bear the name of Bolivar, from the founder of the nation, shall be built in a central situation, according to the ordinance of the republic.

The city of Quito, which was rebuilt in 1534, on the ruins of an ancient Indian town, is situated at the elevation of 9000 feet above the level of the sea, in lat. 0 13 min, 33 sec. N. on the eastern acclivity of Pichinca, a lofty eminence of the western Cordilleras of the Andes, about 130 miles from the Pacific. The site of the town is very uneven and irregular; the principal square is spacious, and has an elegant fountain in the centre. The four streets, on each side of the square, are straight, broad, and handsome; the others are crooked, and so rough and broken, as to be impassable for wheel carriages. The houses are all one story only, and generally have balconies towards the street.

The public buildings consists of a cathedral, town house, and numerous churches and convents.

The surrounding country is rich, beautiful, and fertile, in the most valuable productions of the temperate and torrid zones. The climate is healthy and delightful. The city is distinguished for its manufacturing industry, and is represented to be the most populous city in the whole territory of the republic; its population being usually estimated at 70,000.

In full view of this city, rise some of the most lofty summits of the Andes, covered with perpetual snows, and frequently emitting, with awful grandeur, torrents of flames and clouds of smoke, from their bursting Volcanoes. The natural port of Quito is Guayaquil.

The city of Caraccas, the capital of the ancient captain generalcy of Venezuela, and the present seat of government, for the department of Venezuela, was founded in 1567; and is situated in lat. 10 deg. 31 min. N. in the beautiful, elevated valley of the same name, which extends twelve miles from east to west, at the height of 2,598 feet above the level of the sea. The city lies in a delightful and fertile spot in the valley, at the foot of the cloud capt Cielo, one of the summits of the Atlantic branch of the Andes. Its site is a square with a side of 2000 paces, and its surface every where uneven and irregular, just as nature formed it. The houses are well built, some of brick, but the greater part are of masonry, in frame work, after the manner of the Romans. The climate is delightful. This city, which may be considered as the cradle of the revolution in South America, contained, previous to the year 1811, 45,000 inhabitants. It was the seat of an university, and its inhabitants were distinguished for their intelligence and patriotism.

In addition to the calamities of the war of the Revolution, in which the city had its full share since its commencement in 1810, it was partly destroyed by an earthquake on the 26th March, 1812; many of its houses and churches were destroyed, and more than 1000 inhabitants are said to have perished beneath the ruins. Since the expulsion of the Spanish army, and the restoration of tranquillity, the city is represented to be again in a prosperous condition. Its population is increasing, its commerce and industry reviving, and many Englishmen and North Americans have lately emigrated to this city. Among others, is

the celebrated Joseph Lancaster, with a view of diffusing the benefits of his system of education. The seaport of Caraccas is La Guayra, one of the most thriving and commercial towns on the Atlantic border. The distance from Caraccas to La Guayra is 15 miles over a lofty ridge.

The other considerable cities are Popayan, which was founded in 1536, and stands in lat. 2 deg. 50′ N. on the east side of a mountain of considerable height, called M. from the resemblance it bears to that letter. The streets are broad, straight, and level; the houses are built of unburnt bricks, and some of them are two stories high. Its public buildings consist of a cathedral, 3 monasteries, and 2 nunneries. The population is estimated by some at 20,000, and by others at 25,000. The Molino, issuing from the mountain of M, runs through the city. The Cauca runs about three miles to the north; the distance from Popayan to the Pacific is 90 miles.

Guayaquil, the seaport of Quito, is situated in south lat. 2 deg. 12′ on the river of the same name, which empties into the gulf or bay of Guayaquil. The city stands about 18 miles up the river, and contains a population of 20,000 souls. The streets are broad and straight: the houses are built of wood, large and beautiful. It is the principal naval station of the republic on the Pacific, and enjoys an extensive and increasing commerce. Guayaquil, having recently changed her political condition, by the spontaneous will of the people, almost without a struggle, her commercial prosperity has scarcely been interrupted by the events of the war. She may, therefore, be ranked among the richest cities of the republic. The females of this city are distinguished for the fairness of their complexions, and the social character of the inhabitants is much commended by strangers. The town is defended by three forts; the river is navigable to the town for vessels of any size, and affords the best harbour on the coast. A naval school has lately been established at this place.

Panama, the other important commercial town on the Pacific, is the oldest city on the South Sea; it was founded in 1518, and is situated in N. lat. 8° 57′ 48″ on a bay of the same name. The town is built on a rocky peninsula, and is fortified. This place has lost much of its commercial prosperity, but nevertheless enjoys a very commanding local position. Its population is about 10,000, a considerable portion of which are slaves; most of the inhabitants have some knowledge of the English language, which is acquired by their intercourse with the Island of Jamaica. A good road to Porto Bello, on the opposite shore of the gulf of Mexico, would be an object of great utili-

ty, and the ground is said to be very favourable for such an undertaking.

Porto Bello, on the opposite shore of the gulf of Mexico, in N. lat. 9° 33′ has a beautiful local and commercial situation. This town has shared the same fate as Panama, and has greatly declined from its former glory, whilst it continued the seat of the commerce of the galleons; but still it maintains some trade, which is supposed to be increasing since the revolution.

Chagres, a town situated on a fine bay, at the mouth of the river of the same name, 44 miles east of Porto Bello, enjoys some commerce. The most important commercial city on the Atlantic sea board is Carthagena, which is the principal naval station of the republic on the Atlantic. This city is situated in N. lat. 10° 25′ 48″, the distance of 102 miles west of the river Magdalena, and is divided into two parts; the city proper, so called, and Gimani. The city is surrounded by a thick, high wall, and Gimani is built in a semicircular form; it is fortified in front by a strong wall, and united to the city by a bridge over the ditch.

The city is defended by a strong fort and batteries, on the surrounding hills. Near the town is the lake Tesca, which is 3 miles in circumference, and communicates with the city and the sea. The bay of Carthagena is nine miles in extent; its principal entrance is defended by strong fortifications. The population of the city is estimated at 16,000, and its commerce is considerable and increasing. This town has partaken largely of the bitter fruits of the revolution; it has experienced two long and tedious sieges, during the last ten years. On the 5th of December, 1815, 2000 of its patriotic inhabitants emigrated in a body, and left the city, in eleven armed vessels, being unable any longer, to resist the successful efforts of the royalists under Morillo. A naval school has recently been established at Carthagena.

Savanilla, a new commercial town, is on the Magdalena, 21 miles from its mouth. Santa Martha, a considerable commercial town, of 5000 inhabitants, connected with the Magdalena by interior navigation, lies 45 miles east of the Magdalena; 150 miles further east is Rio Hacha, which is also a place of considerable trade.

Maracaibo, on the lake or gulf of the same name, is likewise a considerable commercial town, the population of which was more than 20,000 previous to the revolution; but it is now much reduced by the calamities of the revolutionary war. This city, by its easy communication with the interior, possesses superior commercial advantages.

Puerto Cabello, the seaport of Valencia, has an excellent harbour, with strong fortifications. This town has also suffered much by the operations of the war, and has been considered a very important military position. It is the last from which the royalists were expelled in the whole territory of the republic. It lies in lat. 10° 20′ N. and its population was estimated at 7,500 before the war.

Cumana and Barcelona are the principal cities on the eastern coast of the republic. The former lies a quarter of a league south, from the gulf of Curiaco, on a sandy and dry soil, in N. lat. 10° 37′ and was built in 1520; it contained before the revolution, 24,000 inhabitants, chiefly Creoles, who were industrious and enterprising. The climate is warm and healthy; the population of Cumana was much diminished by the revolutionary struggle.

Barcelona was founded in 1634, and is built on a plain on the left bank of the Neveri, three miles from its mouth, in N. lat. 10° 10′. Its population was 14,000 previous to the revolution; it is now much reduced; its distance from Cumana, is 60 miles. Thirty miles E. N. E. of Cumana is situated the city of Curiaco, on a river of the same name, that discharges its waters into the gulf of Curiaco.

La Guayra, the Port of Caraccas, is at present next to Carthagena, the most important port on the Atlantic border; the population of La Guayra was 6000 before the revolution; the road to Caraccas is over a mountain 6095 feet high, and is very difficult and laborious to travel during the wet season. The city of Angostura is the chief seat of commerce on the great river Orinoco, with a population of 10,000 inhabitants. This city is the capital of Guiana, and is situated about 270 miles up the river. Angostura was wrested from the royalists in 1817, and was for several years the seat of the Venezuelian republic, while most of the country was in possession of the Spaniards. From this place the gallant Bolivar led forth the little army of his own creation, composed of foreigners and natives hastily collected together, and penetrated into the heart of New Grenada; and with astonishing celerity, emancipated that fine country from the Spanish yoke, and laid the foundation of a free, independent, and powerful nation.

Coro, in lat. 10° 8′ N. at the bottom of the gulf of the same name, stands on a dry, sandy plain, with a population estimated at 10,000 before the revolution, and is distant from Maracaibo 165 miles east. The province of Coro is in many parts arid and sterile.

Among the numerous interior towns, that abound in every section of the republic, is Valencia, situated on a beautiful lake of the same name. This place was at one period the seat of government for the Venezuelian republic. Valencia is situated 24 miles south of Puerto Cabello, and 90 miles to the west of Caraccas.

Rosario de Cucuta, the town where the constitution was formed, is situated in a valley of the same name, about 300 miles to the north east of Bogota; near Cucuta lies the superb valley of San Chrystoval. Mompox, a military position, situated on an island in the Magdalena, 195 miles from the mouth of the river, is 375 miles from Bogota.

The cities of Barinas, Guanore, Araure, San Carlos, and San Fernando de Apure, are situated in the province of Barinas, and were rapidly advancing previous to the war, which visited this province with the full measnre of its destructive fury.

The province of Barinas consists entirely of plains intersected by numerous rivers, most of them navigable, which descend into the Apure, and thus communicate with the Orinoco. The banks of these rivers are covered with superb forests, and when cleared, the soil produces, abundantly, cocoa, indigo, cotton, sugar-cane, tobacco, maize, rice, and all kinds of fruits and vegetables. The savannas support innumerable herds of cattle. The Cordillera of Pamplona, Merida, and Truxillo, border on this province on the west and north, and supply it with wheat and every other production of temperate climates, even to the luxury of snow.

The city of Merida was founded in 1593, and is situated in a valley 9 miles long, in lat. 8° 10′ N.; its population was 11,500 previous to the revolution; it is 240 miles from Maracaibo, and 420 S. E. from Caraccas. The province of Merida possesses the advantages of a delightful climate, and a fertile, though mountainous territory. Wheat, tobacco, and all fruits and grains of temperate climates, are raised abundantly in the high lands; while the low, warm vallies, produce sugar-cane and cocoa, and all tropical fruits; coffee could be cultivated to great advantage on the mountains.

The city of Truxillo, the capital of the adjoining province of the same name, is situated in lat. 8° 40′ N. 60 miles from Merida, with a population of 7,600. The province of Truxillo differs little from that of Merida, except that its mountains are steeper, and the valleys more confined.

Barquisimeto is situated in lat. 9° 45′ N. on an elevated

plain, which is open to every breeze; its population is 11,000; it was founded in 1552, and is 450 miles N. N. E. from Bogota.

Tocuyo is situated 45 miles S. W. of Barquisimeto, in lat. 9° 35′ N. in a valley of the same name, with a population estimated at 10,000, before the revolution.

There are several towns near the southern border of the republic; among which is the city of Cuenca, with a population of 20,000 inhabitants.

The late Mr. Torres, Charge des Affairs of the Republic to the United States, one of the most patriotic and enlightened citizens of Colombia, gave it as his opinion, in 1821, that the population of Colombia exceeded 3,600,000 souls.

The island of Margaritta, which constitutes one of the provinces of the repuclic, is situated 24 miles north of the peninsula of Araya, in Cumana. The island consists of two peninsulas connected by a narrow isthmus, and lies between lat. 10° 50′ and 11° 10′ N.; the surface of the island is uneven, consisting of hills and dales. The soil is sandy, producing some cotton, sugar, and other tropical productions. The capital of the island is Assumption, situated near its centre.—There are several other villages in the vallies. The principal port is Pampater, which is fortified. The population of this island is estimated at 20,000 inhabitants, who are distinguished for their bravery and patriotism, particularly for their gallant deeds in the month of November, 1816, when every citizen became a soldier, and with desperate bravery, defeated, in ten pitched battles, the formidable hosts of Gen. Morillo; and also, for the memorable defence made in July, the following year, when 3,500 Spanish troops, under the same commander, were forced to retire in disgrace, with the loss of a thousand men.

Mines.—The mineral treasures of Colombia are less important than those of Mexico or Peru, and are of a different character. Gold is not, in general, obtained from deep mines in the bowels of the earth, but is found mingled with the soil near the surface, from which it is separated by repeated washings. This service was formerly performed by negro slaves, who cannot bear the cold air of the mines in Mexico, but are more able than the Indians to perform labour in the field. The metal has been found in some districts in large grains, particularly near Pamplona, where single labourers have collected, in one day, the value of seven hundred and fifty dollars. A mass of fine gold was found of the value of more than three thousand dollars, which was sent to Spain by the governor.—

Gold is very generally dispersed in the town of Rio Hacha; it is found in the sand washed down from the declivities; but the provinces of Antioquia and Choco, where gold, silver, and platina abound, are the most distinguished for their mineral wealth. Gold is not only found mixed with the soil, which has been washed down from the declivities of mountains, but also in the beds of rivers; emeralds are likewise found in the beds of rivers, particularly in a small stream, about sixty miles from Bogota, where almost every stone contains an emerald. There are unworked mines of silver in Mariquita, and undoubtedly undiscovered mines in various parts of Colombia, as the mines here have been an object of less attention than in Mexico or Peru, and from the want of capital and machinery, they have not been worked to the same extent or productiveness. When adequate capital, machinery, and scientific skill, are applied to the mining operations in Colombia, the immense treasures which now lie bedded in the bowels of the earth, will be developed, and prove an inexhaustible source of wealth and of national prosperity. There are mints at Popayan and Bogota, where the gold and silver is coined. From 1821 to 1824, inclusive, the coinage, at both mints, amounted to an average of two millions, two hundred and ninety-nine thousand, two hundred and forty-nine dollars, annually. Formerly, a considerable part of the gold was not coined in the country, but smuggled into the West Indies.

On the coast between Rio Hacha and Maracaibo, there is a pearl fishery carried on by the *Indios Bravos*, or wild tribes, who inhabit the country; but the profits of the fishery, probably, are chiefly realized by their more civilized neighbours, who trade with them. The pearls are much superior to those of the east. By a decree of congress in August, 1823, all the pearl fisheries of Colombia were granted to a company on certain conditions.

Roads and Internal Communications.—Colombia, like every part of what was Spanish America, is deplorably deficient in these advantages. This country is not like Mexico, destitute, in a great measure, of internal water communications; its natural advantages are almost unrivalled; but from the want of mechanic arts and of science, the country has not yet enjoyed the benefit of them. The Orinoco and the Magdalena particularly afford resources for extensive lines of internal navigation, which only want to be improved. The Orinoco, by means of its large branches, the Apure and the Meta, opens a communication with the whole level country, to within about one hundred and fifty miles of Bogota, extending

nearly six hundred miles into the interior. From the mouth of the Magdalena to Honda, the head of boat navigation, is about 550 miles; the current is very rapid. The internal navigation is rude and unimproved, consisting of canoes poled up and down the rivers by the *bogas*, or boatmen, of whom there is a great number on all the navigable streams. It is said that there are ten thousand of this class of men on the Magdalena; their principal residence is at Mompox. From the rapidity of the current of the Magdalena, in going up the stream, thirty miles a day is reckoned a good day's jonrney; and from the various delays, which usually occur, the voyage from the mouth of the river to Honda is seldom performed in less than thirty days, and Captain Cochrane, who lately ascended this river, was forty-six.

In this age of improvement, when "unconquerable steam" has wrought such a revolution in river and coast navigation, and under the auspices of a free and enlightened government, it cannot be doubted that this simple and rude navigation, the same that was pursued by the natives, when the country was discovered, of some of the noblest rivers in the world, will soon be superseded by steam boats: or, if there should be found any difficulty in the use of these, by some other improved plan of internal navigation. The congress have directed their attention to this object, and at their session, in 1823, granted patents, on certain conditions, to James Hamilton, and John Elbers, for the privilege of running steam boats on the Orinoco and the Magdalena. A steam boat has just been conducted to Colombia, to be employed on the Magdalena, and great solicitude is felt as to the success of this first attempt at steam navigation. As it respects roads, they are scarcely known in Colombia; throughout the whole republic, there is not a road passable for any considerable distance with wheel carriages, nor scarcely for mules, without exposure of life or limbs. Travelling, and transportation of every kind by land, is done by mules: the carriage is, consequently, tedious and expensive, so that the bulky produce of the interior will not bear transportation to the coast; and the expense of carriage, on the more heavy and bulky articles of importation, raises them to a high price in the interior. Whilst the Spaniards possessed Puerto Cabello, the cocoa, coffee, and cotton, raised in the vicinity of Valencia, would scarcely bear the expense of transportation to Caraccas. The want of good internal communications is most seriously felt in Colombia, and greatly depresses the agricultural interests in the interior.—These disadvantages will, probably, soon be partially overcome

by improving the navigation of rivers, and opening turnpike or artificial roads.

Government.—The natural, but mistaken apprehension of a union among states similarly situated, and having a common interest, of which history affords so many examples, has been strikingly illustrated in Colombia. When the country threw off the Spanish yoke, not only Venezuela and New Grenada, which had been separate governments, but many of the provinces of each, formed juntas for themselves, declared their independence, and raised military forces to maintain it, not only against the authority of Spain, but that of the general governments established by the revolutionists claiming jurisdiction over them. In New Grenada, the congress composed of deputies, from a number of the provinces, were obliged to make war upon the provinces of Cundanimarca and Carthagena, to force them into a union, or to compel obedience to the decrees of the congress. Although these contentions disparaged and greatly injured their cause; yet it is not improbable that the existence of so many independent governments, was, on the whole, serviceable in the prosecution of the war. Hostilities were carried on by the general governments of Venezuela and New Grenada, and also by the governments of many of the provinces at the same time, in conjunction or separately, and some times in the latter mode, when they were at war with each other. When the patriots were overcome in one province, they kept up resistance in another; and when the armies of the congress were defeated, and the government itself overthrown; still the provincial juntas would keep alive the spirit of resistance. When the cause was prostrated in Venezuela, it was maintained in New Grenada, and the former again liberated by troops, furnished by the latter. The existence of so many independent separate governments, all of whom were engaged in carrying on the war, distracted the attention of the Spanish chiefs, and greatly embarrassed their operations; but on the other hand, it prevented the concentration of power, and the establishment of an energetic and efficient government, as well as occasioned almost constant dissentions.

It required, however, a long course of fatal experience to overcome the apprehensions and prejudices which existed against a consolidated government, embracing all the provinces composing the present territory of Colombia; and it is probable, that it could not have been effected, at least, in a peaceable manner, except for the great influence of Bolivar. The government established in Venezuela, in 1811, was a confede-

racy similar to that of the United States, and at that time, and long after, that plan was almost universally popular, both in Venezuela and New Grenada. General Miranda, by favouring a more concentrated and energetic government, gave great offence, and occasioned himself to be viewed with suspicion. The province of Cundanimarca, in 1814, could not be induced to unite, under the most urgent circumstances, with the other provinces, with which it had formerly been connected, and the employment of troops, and the capture of Bogota, its capital only, could compel it to join the confederation. When these circumstances are considered, it is apparent that the revolution, in the public mind, must have been very great, which should lead to the union of Venezuela and New Grenada, an event not apparently even thought of, at the time of which we have been speaking, and to the establishment of a government, which is not a confederacy of provinces, but an entire consolidation of them into one state, with a unity of authority. The first of these events took place in December, 1819, when, after the overthrow of the royal power, by the great victory of Boyaca, a congress was convened at Angostura. Bolivar delivered to the congress an elaborate speech, which shews that he had studied, profoundly, the principles of government, their forms, and their spirit; the object of which was, to produce a conviction of the importance of a union of Venezuela and New Grenada, and the establishment of an efficient government. On the 17th of the month, the fundamental law was passed, which united, in one state, Venezuela and New Grenada, to be called the *Republic of Colombia*. This was followed by the appointment of a committee to prepare a project of a constitution; and one having been reported, it was considered and adopted, by the general congress assembled at Cucuta, on the 30th of August, 1821, and has ever since been in operation, although the government was not organized under it, for some time. Its strength and merits have borne the test of several years' trial, during which, the government founded on it, has been administered with regularity, firmness and success.

The principles of this constitution are those of a representative democracy or republic, but not on the federative plan. There is but one supreme national legislature, and no subordinate ones. There is a complete unity of authority or government, consequently, in this important particular, the system differs, essentially, from that of the United States. The departments are only the civil divisions of the state, and do not possess any subordinate powers of government, not so much

as the town corporations in New England. They are under the immediate direction of an Intendant appointed by the president of the republic; and the provinces or subdivisions of the departments are under a governor, also appointed by the president.

Another important principle is different from our constitution; the right of suffrage is not exercised *directly*, but *indirectly*, as was done in France. The people, or such as are qualified to vote, (and for this purpose a small amount of property is necessary, or the exercise of some trade or profession) vote for electors, of which there are ten for every representative, and these electors choose the deputies and senators to congress, the president and vice-president. There is one representative for every 30,000 of the population; and when the fraction, in any province, is more than one half that number, it is entitled to another. The representatives are chosen for four years, and the senators for eight; the president and vice-president for four, the first of which is eligible only two terms in succession.

The primary elections of the people are held once in four years, in the parishes, at which each qualified voter gives his suffrage for the number of electors to which the province is entitled. The electors meet in the capital of their respective provinces, once in four years, and at the same time choose all the important officers of the government—representatives, senators, (of which there are four in each department, two chosen every four years,) president and vice-president. The electors, it is supposed, of each province, choose the representatives the province is entitled to; their votes, however, are returned to congress, by which they are canvassed, and the validity of the election decided. The president and vice-president are chosen by a majority of the votes of the electors in all the provinces; but whether the senators are chosen, like the executive by the whole body of electors, or by the electors of their respective departments, we cannot determine from any intelligence we have obtained. It would seem, however, that they are chosen by the electors of their respective departments.

In our apprehension, there are great objections to this indirect mode of election; it is interposing an intermediate body, between the people and their rulers; it weakens the responsibility of the latter, and diminishes the interest, which the former feel, in the government. It is, also, more complicated, and more exposed to intrigue and corruption. In a province having one representative, six electors control the choice;

where there is two, eleven electors possess the whole control of the election; in the departments, a small number of persons must possess the power of appointing the senators; and estimating the whole population at 3,600,000, there would be 1200 electors in the republic. The number would be, probably, something greater, in consequence of the fractions of the population of the provinces. The establishment of electoral colleges, composed of a small number of individuals, opens a door to executive influence and corruption; and this must be the more dangerous, from the extent of the executive power, arising in part from the central system. The president is entrusted with the general administration of the government; he appoints the secretaries of the home and foreign departments, of finance and of war, ambassadors, members of the high court of justice, the intendants of the departments and the governors of the provinces; he commands the army and the navy, makes all the appointments therein, and directly or indirectly appoints all inferior magistrates and officers of corporations.

The consolidation system, or unity of authority; the length of the term of all legislative and executive officers, and the indirect mode of election, all contribute to diminish the power and influence of the people, and consequently, to prevent their feeling an interest in public affairs. The people, unless it be in mere municipal concerns, have no participation in the government, except the choice of electors once in four years, the same as is done in the United States; the only difference being, that our electors vote only for president and vice-president, and theirs, choose not only these officers, but also the representatives and senators. What interest, with all the exertions of politicians and expectants, would the people in the United States take, in public affairs, if their only power or influence was to vote once in four years for electors?

During the late election of president, after a long and most animated discussion, the people in most of the states manifested but little interest in the question, and gave but few votes. In most of the towns in New England, more interest is felt, in the appointment of town officers, and incomparably more in the election of representatives to the state legislatures.

In Colombia, it is true, the appointment of electors is much more important, not only because the electors choose the members of both branches of the legislature, but also because the people are more directly and immediately interested, both in congress and the executive, than is the case in the United States. Here, neither the laws of congress, nor the acts of

the president, scarcely touch the people in their common concerns.

What would the people of the United States think, of giving up their State Legislatures, and of suffering the president to appoint their governors, judges, sheriffs, and all civil and military officers? They would as soon consent to return to their colonial dependence on Great Britain.

It is, however, to be remembered, that the condition of Colombia is entirely different from the United States, or what it was when our constitution was adopted. Just emerged from the most degrading and oppressive colonial despotism, the people at large are not sufficiently enlightened, or in any way prepared for a government founded on the principles of that of the United States, where so much power is reposed in the hands of the people. It will take time to overcome habits, the effects of forms of government, and modes of thinking, which are the bitter fruits of a jealous and gloomy despotism.

But whether the constitution is theoretically defective or not, in preferring the central to the federative plan, and the indirect, to the direct mode of election, it possesses many just and noble principles, constituting the great landmarks of liberty, which evince the liberal spirit that actuated its framers. It recognises the freedom of the press; the trial by jury; it abolishes hereditary rank and monopolies; prohibits all arrests not authorised by law, and all extraordinary tribunals and commissions, and declares the inviolability of the houses and papers of individuals, the independence of the nation, the sovereignty of the people, the responsibility of magistrates, and the equality of rights.

The judiciary and administration of justice are imperfect, from the influence of Spanish laws, ordinances, and juridical regulations. Their civil and criminal codes, are only a collection of Royal ordinances, Laws of Castile, Laws of the Indies, compilations of Spanish decrees, and colonial regulations, abounding in contradictions, and only calculated to vex the suitor with the 'law's delay,' and the law's expense, and to enrich the lawyer. The government is fully sensible of the defects of this system, and is attempting to remedy the evil as fast as it can be done: it has established the trial by jury in cases of libels, and declared in favour of introducing it generally. But the long established habits, prejudices, and usages of the people, oppose serious obstacles.

There are two laws that have been adopted by the congress, that deserve particular notice, and the highest commendation;

one relates to slavery, and the other to education, both of which will be more properly considered under different heads. And generally, the laws which have been adopted, by the present government, are founded on just principles and an enlightened policy, calculated to consolidate and strengthen the government, to promote the happiness of the people, and the power and prosperity of the republic.

Commerce, Manufactures, and Revenue.—The principal articles of Colombian commerce are cocoa, coffee, chocolate, cotton, indigo, sugar, hides, cattle, tobacco, dye-woods, medicinal drugs, and the precious metals, gold, silver, and platina. The foreign commerce is carried on principally with Great Britain and the United States: from the former Colombia receives manufactures of various descriptions, and military stores, with ships for her navy; and from the latter, flour manufactured goods, military and naval stores, military and commercial vessels of various sizes. A considerable trade is carried on with the Antilles, or West India Islands, which have always been principally supplied with mules and horses from this country. The war of the revolution, however, has made such destruction of cattle of every kind as greatly to diminish this trade. Of the less important articles of commerce, are mahogany, and other woods of the most exquisite beauty and durability, for cabinet work, and other uses; dying plants, bees wax, honey and cochineal. The commercial resources of the country are scarcely yet touched. No portion of the world possesses a more commanding geographical position, more valuable maritime advantages for commerce, than Colombia; situated in the centre of the American continent, washed by two oceans, possessing an extensive maritime coast on both, and penetrated by noble rivers affording extensive lines of navigation. Its Atlantic coast is in the immediate neighbourhood of the West Indies, and it is centrally and favourably situated for commerce with Europe, the United States, Mexico, the West Indies, and the Atlantic countries of South America; whilst its Pacific coast opens to the republic the commerce of the south sea and whale fisheries. But great as are the geographical facilities and advantages of Colombia for commerce, they do not surpass its natural internal resources. Situated under the line, and embracing the climate, the soil, and the productions of the three zones; rich in mineral treasures, in boundless forests of valuable woods, comprising immense savannas, whose spontaneous, perpetual verdure, sustains, almost without the care, and entirely without the expense of man, vast herds of cattle, surely, no country on earth can

possess more extensive and diversified natural resources of wealth and of commerce. Industry and art only are wanted, under the protection and encouragement of a free and enlightened government to develope these exhaustless resources. Industry and art will supply capital in the requisite time. In a country possessing such vast natural resources, when peopled, the produce of agriculture, of the mines, and of the forests, must constitute its wealth, and the sources of its commerce. The application of industry to these objects will augment the commercial ability of the country, in a ratio corresponding with the increase of labour; and this will be greatly stimulated by a free and stable government, by the multiplication of population, the improvement of the arts, and the introduction of capital. Wise laws and a judicious tariff, must have great influence on the commercial prosperity of Colombia. In a new country, so thinly inhabited, and possessing such vast natural resources, there can be no doubt, that freedom of commerce, with all nations, is the most correct policy, and will best advance the prosperity of the country.

The pernicious consequences of the restricted and monopolizing system of Spain, it might have been supposed, would have induced the present government, immediately, to secure to the country one of the most important advantages of their independence—freedom of commerce, and to open their ports to all the world. But long established regulations, although founded in despotism and ignorance, are not easily given up, at once, and hence it is that despotism is felt long after the power, which sustained it, is overthrown. In the year 1823, during the recess of congress, the vice-president of Colombia, administering the government, promulgated a decree, prohibiting foreigners trading in the country, on their own account, and requiring that they should consign themselves to the natives. This injudicious and illiberal measure, which savoured much of the jealous and monopolizing system of Spain, could not be enforced, and the congress had the wisdom not to pass it into a law. Tobacco has been prohibited from being imported into the country; likewise, all kinds of foreign spirits, to encourage the manufacture of domestic brandy, called *aguaidiente*. Every species of Spanish produce and manufactures, introduced into the country, is forfeited by the laws of the republic. This, however, is not so much a commercial as a political measure, it being intended to distress Spain; but it must, also, occasion some inconvenience to Colombia, and particularly prove injurious to the cocoa produce, and trade of Venezuela, as Spain is the principal consumer of that

article. Of the policy of these, or any other particular prohibitions or restrictions, we have not the means of deciding; but it is evident, that, for a considerable period, the commerce of Colombia must consist of an exchange of the produce of her exuberant soil, of her mines, and of her forests, for the manufactures of Europe, and the United States. Colombia must afford an extensive market for the manufactures of England, which country will enjoy the principal part of the Colombian commerce; although the enterprise of our citizens will, undoubtedly, come in for a share. The amount of European goods, imported into New Grenada, previous to 1810, was two million, five hundred thousand dollars annually, and the exports were one million, five hundred thousand dollars exclusive of the precious metals; and the cast and ingots of gold exported are, two million, six hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

The manufactures of the republic are chiefly confined to the sourthern provinces. Previous to the year 1810, their annual value was computed to be five million dollars. A very great extension of this branch of industry cannot be expected in a country abounding in such immense agricultural resources, capable of affording an extensive and profitable commerce, with most of the world. The mechanic arts must be generally established, and advanced to a state of considerable perfection in any country, before manufactures, except a few of a coarse kind, can be introduced. This has not been done in Colombia; and where there is a great want of artisans, of almost every description, such as carpenters, joiners, ship builders, masons, blacksmiths, tanners, shoe makers, saddlers, and cabinet makers, it can hardly be expected that manufactures will be introduced to any extent. Furniture is imported in all the sea ports, from Jamaica, Curracoa, and the United States; but this article is too bulky to be conveyed into the interior, with the imperfect communication which exists.

The sources of revenue of the republic are direct, and indirect taxes; but the custom-house duties constitute, by far, the most certain and important branch of revenue, which is constantly increasing, whilst many of the ancient sources of revenue have been abolished. The duties received at La Guayra sometimes amount to 60,000 dollars per month. There are some of the old monopolies continued, as well as duties on salt. The produce of the Mint, including the expenses of coinage, amounts to about two million of dollars annually. The national debt is principally due to foreigners, and is not

so great, as might be expected, considering the character and duration of the war in which the republic has been engaged. The revenue of New Grenada, previous to 1810, amounted to three million, two hundred thousand dollars. Among the sources of this revenue, was the royal right of a fifth of the gold extracted from the mines, the tribute, or capitation tax paid by the Indians, the bulls of crusade, the alcabala, or duties paid on the sale of every article of consumption, and partially the monopoly of tobacco, which are now abolished. The revenue of Venezuela, at the same time, was two million, one hundred twenty-six thousand dollars.

In consequence of the revolutionary war, the abolition of many of the old branches of revenue, the entire change, which has taken place in the political and financial condition of the country, and the increase of expenditure, which this and the war attending it have occasioned, the finances of the republic are unpromising, and the system imperfect and undigested. In 1823, an attempt was made to levy a direct contribution, in the form of an income tax, which completely failed, in consequence (according to the report of the minister of finance) of the difficulty of obtaining a fair assessment. The amount of gold and silver coined for the government, is estimated at two million of dollars; but the expenses, attending which, are computed at one million, three hundred thousand dollars. The revenue from the salt works, is about one hundred thousand dollars, equal to its former amount; but, the tobacco monopoly is unproductive. The imposts, or duties on goods imported, is the main branch of revenue, but at present, very far from being sufficient to meet the expenses of the government. The revenue, however, from this source, must increase with great rapidity, with the increase of population, the developement of the vast agricultural resources of the country, and the extension and prosperity of the commerce of the republic; so that, at no distant period, it may suffice for the entire demands of the government.

Army, Navy, and Military Resources.—The army of the republic is highly respectable, both for size and character. In addition to the garrisons which are maintained in the fortified towns; an efficient corps is reserved in each department, for the purpose of defence. In 1823, provision was made for raising, immediately, 50,000 men, in case of an attack from Spain, and a powerful Colombian army has already liberated Peru, and covered itself with glory. The fields of Boyaca, Carabobo, in Colombia, and Ayacucho, in Peru, bear ample testimony to the valour and discipline of the heroic army of

Colombia. There are few, if any examples on record, of a country of the same population and resources, having carried on so long and destructive a war as Colombia has done, and bringing the same to so successful and glorious a termination. The navy of the republic has not arrived at maturity; but ample provision has been made for its extension and efficiency, by large appropriations for the purpose of building and purchasing vessels of war. Naval schools, for scientific and practical instruction, have been established at Carthagena and Guayaquil, the principal naval stations belonging to the republic. A respectable navy has already been created, on both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, composed of frigates, and smaller vessels, which has been found of great utility in assisting the various military operations.

The military resources of the republic are ample for the purposes of defence; and the materials, for the formation of an efficient army, are abundant. The people of colour, of all classes, make excellent soldiers, and some of them have risen to a distinguished rank in the army; and it cannot be doubted that the brave people of Colombia are as capable of maintaining their independence, as any other nation, of the same magnitude, on the globe.

Character of the People, Education, &c.—A late traveller remarks, that the most pleasing trait, in the character of the Colombian creoles, is good nature; the same writer further remarks, that they are not vindictive nor cruel. It cannot be expected that a new born nation, which has just emerged from a state of colonial degradation, can immediately devolope any very strong, or peculiar characteristics; but it is due to justice to observe, that the inhabitants of Colombia, during their long and arduous struggle, have displayed a constancy and devotion to the cause of liberty and independence, that has rarely been equalled by any people of ancient or modern times; and it is also worthy of remark, that the government of Colombia has maintained its public credit with scrupulous fidelity, and that all its relations with foreigners have been characterized by the love of justice and liberality; that it has omitted no means of diffusing knowledge, or extending the blessings of the republican system among its citizens, and of preparing them, for the enjoyment of liberty and the exalted destiny which awaits them, as citizens of a free, prosperous, and powerful republic. The enlightened policy of the present government, is gradually obliterating the casts and classes, into which the population was divided under the colonial system. These distinctions, so inconsistent with a free republi-

can government, recognizing the equality of the people, will soon be entirely lost; and all will be citizens of the republic. The constitution and the laws recognize no distinction of colour, and all free persons are equally eligible to office. To the eternal honour of the present congress, one of its earliest acts had, for its object, the gradual abolition of slavery. It provides that no person can be born a slave in the republic, and prohibits the importation of slaves under a severe penalty. It does not stop here, but makes provision for a manumission fund, by a tax which, according to the colonial laws, was retained by the government. These regulations are similar to those which were adopted by the republican government at Buenos Ayres, at an earlier period; and laws had previously been adopted in Venezuela and New Grenada, for the abolition of slavery. The manumission fund is applied to the purchase of slaves, a great number of which are redeemed annually; their characters are strictly inquired into, by the highest magistrates, and those are redeemed who are the most deserving.

Previous to the revolution, Caraccas and Santa Fe de Bogota, were the seats of learning, and like luminous bodies, diffused their light through the dark atmosphere of the provinces. Caraccas gave the first impulse to the revolution in Venezuela; and Bogota, in New Grenada; and a great portion of the political intelligence, which afterwards was scattered through the provinces, was disseminated from these cities, which were the two eyes of the republic. Not only the light, but the first heat of the revolution, originated in these two capitals; they not only diffused a knowledge of their rights among the people, but set the first examples of defending them. The inhabitants of Caraccas were more enligtened, from commerce, and the intercourse of foreigners, than those of Bogota, and their acquirements were in a different department of science. Politics, philosophy, eloquence, metaphysics, and the moral sciences, received the most attention at Caracas; whilst at Bogota, mathematics, natural history, chemistry, botany, and other physical sciences, were chiefly attended to. Politics, however, were not neglected at Bogota, where there were many individuals of enlightened and liberal principles, all of whom took part in favour of the revolution, and most of them fell a sacrifice to their patriotism.

There were, perhaps, few cities in America, that possessed a greater number of learned and scientific men, at the breaking out of the revolution, than Bogota. Doctors Mutis, Calders, Zea, and other members of the university, cultivated

mathematics with success ; and the former was, also, a distinguished botanist. The great work, on that subject, which he left unfinished at his death, was prosecuted by his nephew, Dr. Senforso Mutis, Don Jose Lozano, and Don Francisco Jose Caldas, assisted by the pencil of Don Salvados Rezo. They were encouraged in their researches by the popular government ; but their labours and their lives were cut short by the blood thirsty Morillo, who, on his capture of the capital in 1816, put to death all the learned men, as well as all the actors in the revolution, which fell into his hands.

Under the colonial despotism, the studies of all the universities and colleges were prescribed and *established by law*, and all others strictly prohibited, so that these institutions were rather calculated to cramp, than to expand the intellect—to confine rather than extend the knowledge of the students. All books, which did not tend to strengthen the despotism of the state, or the church, were prohibited, and the Inquisition charged to prevent their introduction into the country. With all the restrictions and vigilance of the holy office, however, liberal books found their way into America, and the students, in a clandestine manner, devoted that time to Voltaire, Rousseau, and Volney, which they were required to apply to scholastic and theological studies. Don A. Narina, afterwards one of the leaders of the revolution, translated Rousseau's Social Compact, for which offence, although he had previously obtained the consent of the viceroy, he was immured in the dungeons of Carthagena, and from thence removed to Spain. Under such a dark and jealous despotism, which feared nothing so much as the light, it is rather astonishing that science and learning made the progress which they did in many parts of Spanish America, than that they did not make more.

Happily, the dominion of darkness is at an end ; and the sceptre of ignorance is succeeded by the reign of intelligence. The genius of the present government is as opposite to that of the Spanish colonial system, as light is to darkness. It relies, for its support, on the intelligence of the people ; the old government could only be supported by their ignorance.

Among the first subjects, which received the attention of the constitutional congress, was that of education. At its first session, it passed an act concerning schools, colleges, and universities. The report of Mr. Restrepo, the secretary of state, shows that the government engaged, zealously, in this important work. The Lancastrian system has been introduced, and numerous schools have been established on that plan.

The founder of the system has since been invited, and has emigrated to Colombia, where he is using his exertions to extend the blessings of his system of education, and to scatter light in dark places. Some few seminaries of a higher order have been put in operation, and the universities and colleges have undergone a thorough reformation. A portion of the old ecclesiastical revenue, particularly the property of certain monasteries and nunneries, has been appropriated to the purposes of education. The restrictions on books have not only been removed, but they are allowed to be imported free of duty, and also maps, charts, engravings, scientific apparatus, &c. Useful books for schools, and good teachers are much wanted, but are increasing. Considering the shortness of the time, much has already been done, although this is only to be considered as the first fruits of the great work of mental regeneration and illumination, which Bolivar and his patriotic associates in Colombia have undertaken. There has been established, during the past year, forty schools on the plan of Bell and Lancaster, ten colleges, and three universities, and a public library at the capital, containing 14,000 volumes.

Religion.—In Colombia, as well as in all parts of what was Spanish America, the Roman Catholic religion is established and maintained by law. More liberality, however, prevails in Colombia than in Mexico, and a certain degree of toleration, to other religions, is allowed. In August, 1821, the congress passed a decree, abolishing the Inquisition, and conferring on the ecclesiastical courts, jurisdiction in all matters of religion, according to the canons and customs of the Roman Catholic church. The law provides, that juridical proceedings in such cases (in matters of faith) shall take place only with respect to Roman Catholics born in Colombia, their children, and those who, having come from other countries, shall have enrolled themselves in the parish registers of the Catholics; but not with respect to strangers, who may have come to reside temporarily, or permanently, nor with their descendants, who can, in no manner be molested on account of their belief, though they ought to respect the Roman Catholic worship and religion.

This is a qualified kind of toleration, even as it respects foreigners; as the law declares that they shall not be molested, "on account of their belief," which leaves it uncertain, whether they are to be protected in the open public worship of religion, differing from the Catholic. This is a question of construction, arising from the face of the law, and it is uncertain how it may be decided. The clergy will be disposed to

put the most illiberal interpretation on the law; but the officers composing the government, and all the enlightened men throughout the republic, it is presumed, will be inclined to construe this act, in the most favourable and liberal manner. This qualified toleration, is only just raising the veil of an established faith, to let in a glimpse of light to the mental vision. It may be all that the prejudices of the people, and the influence of the clergy will admit of; but it is not what the condition, or prosperity of the country, and the civil institutions which have been adopted, demand; they require light —that the veil should not be slightly raised, but wholly drawn aside, that its reflection may be unobstructed, and left to exert all its power of illumination. It is justly observed, by a recent writer, "If Colombia intends to tread in the steps of the United States, and to grow powerful, by the admission of foreigners into her bosom, some change in her religious system, either legally sanctioned, or conventionally allowed, must eventually take place."* In other respects, the government has adopted the most liberal regulations to promote the emigration of foreigners into the country; that is, Europeans and the citizens of the United States; the president being authorised to distribute or dispose of one million and a half of acres of the lands of the state, for the encouragement of emigration.

The bondage of the mind, is the most debasing and humiliating kind of slavery; and until that is free, the nation is not completely emancipated—the work of mental regeneration is not finished. Civil liberty cannot long exist with religious intolerance and despotism; one must acquire the entire ascendancy, when it will destroy the other, which will end the conflict. The result in Colombia cannot occasion doubt or apprehension. If the present free republican institutions maintain their ground, unqualified toleration and freedom of thought, of inquiry, and of action in matters of religion, must inevitably follow. This requires time, as it cannot be supposed that a nation, long enslaved, can be redeemed in a day; or that the accumulated rubbish of three centuries of political oppression and hierarchical enslavement and corruption can be removed by the first effort of liberty. The enjoyment of entire religious liberty, will form the capstone of the political edifice, whose sure foundation, and proud and lofty structure, it is hoped, will long reflect the sunlight of liberty and truth, on the vast declivities of the Andes, and over the outstretched vallies of the Orinoco.

* Hall's Colombia.

HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTION IN COLOMBIA.

CHAPTER II.

Causes of the Revolution—events in Spain—establishment of Juntas there—overthrow of the Central Junta—establishment of Jnntas in America—massacre at Quito—success of the French in Spain—establishment of the Regency of Cadiz—effect of these Events on the Colonies—Junta Suprema of Caraccas—blockade of Caraccas by the regency—troops sent from Spain—conduct of the Cortes towards America—congress of Venezuela—declaration of Independence—proceedings in Spain—policy of England and France—propositions of Accommodation rejected by the Cortes—junta of Caraccas sends Deputies to England.

We have seen what America was, whilst a part of the dominions of Spain, and subject to the government of the Spanish crown, and are now to behold her in a different and more interesting character; in maintaining, for a long period, with unexampled perseverance, a desperate struggle for her independence, characterised by scenes of bloodshed and cruelty, unparalleled in modern times; to behold her exertions finally crowned with success, and half a dozen independent States suddenly emerging from colonial degradation, take their rank in the family of nations; to witness these states, founded on the will of the people, and calculated to secure, to the present and future generations, independence, liberty, peace, and all their attendant blessings.

The revolution in Colombia is more important than in other parts of Spanish America, as the war commenced here, and the struggle was more protracted and severe; here Spain made her greatest exertions, and the success of the revolution in Colombia, in no small degree, has been the means of its ultimate triumph through the Spanish American dominions.

We shall therefore, in noticing the causes or events which led to the revolution, have to consider many whose influence was general on all parts of the Spanish dominions in America, as well as on those now constituting the Colombian republic.

The first causes of the civil commotions in America are to be sought for in the disturbances which occurred in Spain; and among the other benefits to mankind, which the ambition of Napoleon Bonaparte produced, without his intention, that of opening the way, for the revolution in South America, is by no means the least important. His proceedings at Bayonne, in compelling Ferdinand to abdicate the throne of Spain, in favour of Joseph Bonaparte, and the evident designs of Napoleon, threw Spain into confusion. The loyalty and spirit of the nation was roused, and the people refused to submit to a monarch, imposed on them by treachery, and supported by foreign bayonets. In the provinces not occupied by the French, *juntas* were established, which assumed the government of their districts; and that at Seville, styling itself the supreme junta of Spain and the Indies, despatched deputies to the different governments in America, requiring an acknowledgment of its authority; to obtain which, it was represented that the junta was acknowledged and obeyed throughout Spain. At the same time, the regency created at Madrid, by Ferdinand, when he left his capital, and the junta at Asturias, each claimed superiority, and endeavoured to direct the affairs of the nation.

Napoleon, on his part, was not less attentive to America; agents were sent in the name of Joseph, king of Spain, to communicate to the colonies the abdication of Ferdinand, and his accession to the vacant throne, and to procure the recognition of his authority by the Americans. Thus the obedience of the colonies was demanded by no less than four tribunals, each claiming to possess supreme authority at home. There could scarcely have occurred a conjuncture more favourable for the colonists, to throw off their dependance on Spain, being convulsed as she was, by a civil war, the king a prisoner, the monarchy subverted, and the people unable to agree among themselves where the supreme authority was vested, or which of the pretenders to it were to be obeyed. The power of the parent state, over its colonies, was *de facto* at an end; in consequence of which, they were, in a measure, required to "provide new guards for their security." But so totally unprepared were the colonists, for a political revolution, that instead of these events being regarded as auspicious to their

prosperity, they only served to prove the strength of their loyalty and attachment to Spain. Notwithstanding that the viceroys and captain-generals, excepting the viceroy of New Spain, manifested a readiness to acquiesce in the cessions of Bayonne, to yield to the new order of things, and to sacrifice their king, provided they could retain their places, in which they were confirmed by the new king, the news of the occurrences in Spain, filled the people with indignation; they publicly burnt the proclamations sent out by King Joseph, expelled his agents, and, such was their rage, that all Frenchmen in the colonies became objects of insult and execration. A French brig arrived at Caraccas, with despatches, in July, 1808, and anchored two miles from the town. The fact was no sooner known to the inhabitants, than the utmost excitement ensued, attended with such hostile feelings, towards the French, that the captain of the brig was obliged to steal out of town secretly, in the night, to save his life.

"On entering the city," says a British naval officer, "I observed a great effervescence among the people, like something which either precedes or follows a popular commotion; and as I entered the large inn of the city, I was surrounded by inhabitants of almost all classes.

"I here learned that the French captain, who had arrived yesterday, had brought intelligence of every thing which had taken place in Spain in favour of France; that he had announced the accession in the Spanish throne of Joseph Bonaparte, and had brought orders to the government from the French emperor.

"The city was immediately in arms; 10,000 of its inhabitants surrounded the residence of the captain-general, and demanded the proclamation of Ferdinand the Seventh as their king; which he promised the next day. But this would not satisfy them: they proclaimed him that evening by heralds, in form, throughout the city, and placed his portrait, illuminated, in the gallery of the town-house.

"The French were first publicly insulted in the coffee-house, from whence they were obliged to withdraw; and the French captain left Caraccas, privately, about eight o'clock that night, escorted by a detachment of soldiers, and so saved his life; for, about ten o'clock his person was demanded of the governor by the populace, and when they learned that he was gone, three hundred men followed him to put him to death.

"Though coldly received by the governor, I was surrounded by all the respectable inhabitants of the city, and hailed as

their deliverer. The news which I gave them from Cadiz was devoured with avidity, and produced enthusiastic shouts of gratitude to England."*

A French brig, with an envoy from Napoleon, arrived at Buenos Ayres the latter part of July, with despatches to Liniers, the Viceroy, who issued a proclamation, informing the people of the events which had occurred in Spain, and intended to persuade them to acquiesce in the proceedings at Bayonne, and submit to the authority of Joseph Bonaparte. This proclamation was badly received by the people, and the governor of Monte Video accused Liniers of disloyalty, and, disregarding his proclamation, established a junta for the province, similar to those in Spain, and thus withdrew it from the jurisdiction of Liniers.

The intelligence of the general revolt in Spain, against the government of Joseph Bonaparte, and the establishment of juntas, was received in Mexico about the same time, and occasioned the greatest enthusiasm among the inhabitants; and when the deputies, some time after, arrived from the junta of Seville, they were ready to acknowledge their authority, and would have done it, had not despatches arrived from the junta of Asturias, cautioning them against the ambitious designs of the Andalusian junta. At this period, so little thought had the colonists of attempting to avail themselves of the disorders, which existed in Spain, to establish their independence, and so strong was their loyalty, that they seemed ready to acknowledge the authority of any self-created tribunal in Spain, which claimed to be respected and obeyed at home; although it is evident, that there was no more propriety in the colonies acknowledging the authority of any of the juntas in the Spanish peninsula, than there was of Spain's recognizing the authority of a junta established in the colonies; as America had been subject to the king of Spain, not to the nation.

As the disorders in the peninsula continued, and no sovereign power existed there, that the colonies could respect, a number of the most distinguished inhabitants of Caraccas presented a petition to Cacas, the captain-general, recommending the establishing of a junta similar to those in Spain. And although the petitioners had evidently no other object than to provide for the security of the province; and, notwithstanding the principles of the petition were taken from the laws, the petitioners were answered by being arrested and thrown into prison; but they were released in a few days. In New

* Extract from Capt. Beaver's Letter to A. Cochrane.

Spain a memorial was presented to the Viceroy, soliciting him to consent to the establishment of a junta; he was inclined to favour the measure, which produced a conspiracy against him, and he was seized in his palace at midnight, and confined in the prison of the inquisition.

No one of the several juntas in Spain, being able to acquire supreme authority, and feeling the want of unity of power, the provincial juntas agreed to send deputies to a central junta, and thus constitute a national authority and tribunal. In case of a suspension of the royal functions, the laws of Spain required the establishment of a regency; yet, nevertheless, this irregular tribunal was obeyed, not only in Spain, but in America, and so implicitly in the latter, that, down to the year 1810, more than ninety millions of dollars were sent to Spain by the colonies. This money not only enabled the Spanish patriots, as they were called, to carry on the war with France, but gave vigour to the measures they subsequently adopted towards America, so that the colonies furnished the means of their own subjugation. Many of the most intelligent individuals in America, did not feel satisfied with the authority of the central junta of Spain, and generally much anxiety was felt, for the fate of the colonies, in case the French should prevail. These sentiments led to the establishment of a junta in the province of Quito, in August, 1809; and the Marquis Selva Allegre was chosen its president. A similar junta had previously been created in La Paz, the capital of one of the districts under the dominion of the audience of Charcas, and was suppressed by the military force of the viceroy of Buenos Ayres. The viceroy of New Grenada, Don Amar, determined to destroy the junta formed at Quito; but desirous of exhibiting an appearance of acting in conformity to the will of the people, he convened together the principal inhabitants of Santa Fe de Bogota, for the purpose of consulting them on the subject; believing that they would not have independence sufficient to oppose his will. In this however, he was disappointed; the assembly not only approved of the proceedings at Quito, but declared, that a similar body ought to be formed in Santa Fe, for the security of the country, in case Spain should finally be conquered by the French. The assembly, with the consent of the viceroy, was adjourned, to meet again on the 11th of September, 1809, the first meeting being on the 7th. Still thinking to intimidate the members, the viceroy required that each one should give his vote in writing. When the assembly again met, they were surprised to see that the guards of the palace were doubled, and that great military

preparations had been made, as if an enemy was approaching the city. But even this seasonable display of military force did not have the effect of overawing the assembly; its debates were bold and spirited, and the voting by written ballots, shewing the opinions of the different members, tended to strengthen their firmness and resolution; so that the friends of the measure were rather increased than diminished. This occasion first brought into notice several individuals, who afterwards became distinguished patriots; Camilo de Torres, Gutierrez, Father Padilla, and Moreno, were among the number. Being at length persuaded that he could not have even the appearance of acting in conformity to public opinion, the viceroy took immediate steps to suppress the popular junta at Quito, by an armed force; and the viceroy of Peru, having despatched troops for the same object, the junta was obliged to succumb to a power, it had no means of resisting. And although an assurance was given, by the president of the audinencia of Quito, that no one should, in any way, suffer on account of what had taken place; yet, in violation of this plighted faith, a large number of those who had belonged to, or supported the popular government, were arrested and imprisoned; and on the 2d of August, the following year, they were all massacred, in prison, on pretence of a revolt. The troops stationed in the city, after massacreing the prisoners, were suffered to plunder the inhabitants; the scene of rapine and carnage was shocking, and involved the property of thousands, and the lives of more than three hundred persons, murdered in cold blood. The anniversary of the fate of these early victims, to the liberation and independence of Colombia, was commemmorated by order of the junta of Caraccas, in 1810, in a solemn manner, with appropriate funeral honours.

These tyrannical and sanguinary measures, produced great excitement throughout the colonies, greatly increased the ferment which prevailed, and tended to weaken the attachment that was felt towards the parent country. Few individuals, however, even thought of independence; they all were anxious for a re-establishment of the government of Spain, and a reformation in the colonies. The intelligence of the disturbances in America, and the violent measures pursued by the colonial chiefs, alarmed the central junta of old Spain, and with a view to conciliate the wounded feelings of the Americans, they issued a pompous declaration, in which they asserted that "the colonies were equal to the mother country."—But this was entirely deceptive; no reformation of the sys-

tem, no correction of abuses was attempted; and, notwithstanding the disturbances which the violence of the governors had occasioned, Spaniards were sent to America, to fill all places, and occupy all public employment, as had been done for ages past; and the colonies were drained of money to supply the pressing wants of Spain engaged in a struggle with the gigantic power of France.

Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the Americans, when, at the very time they were expecting to hear of the final triumph of the patriots in Spain, and the restoration of Ferdinand Seventh, they learnt that the French were masters of Madrid, and that the central junta had been driven to Andalusia. But their confidence, in the courage of the people of Spain, remained unshaken; and instead of being discouraged, by these disasters, they only served to awaken the zeal of the Americans in the cause of the mother country, which they still regarded as their own; not only the regular remittances were made, but large sums raised by subscriptions from every class of the population. The intelligence of war breaking out between Austria and France, and the victory of Talavera, occasioned as great joy in America, as it did in the Spanish peninsula; but this enthusiasm was soon allayed by intelligence of the most alarming dissentions among the patriots; general de la Romana published a manifesto, declaring the power of the central junta illegal, and the juntas of Seville and Valencia protested against it. These dissentions were followed by the defeat of their armies, and the dispersion of the central junta, which, having become obnoxious to popular rage, its members were pursued and insulted by the people, and denounced as traitors. A few of the members assembled in the isle of Leon, but not daring to exercise the powers of government any longer, and trembling for their own safety, they vested their authority in a regency consisting of five members. At this time, all of Spain was under the dominion of Bonaparte, except Cadiz and Gallicia, which would have been the extent of the the jurisdiction of the regency, had it been legally constituted; but for one illegal body, whose authority the national will had annulled, when unable any longer to maintain its own power, to attempt to transfer it to another tribunal, of its own creating, was such a palpable attempt at usurpation, that the new government would not have been respected one moment. by any one in Spain, had it not been for the awful crisis which threatened the annihilation of the last hopes of the Spanish patriots.

What a favourable conjuncture for the Americans, to emancipate themselves from a government which had tyrannised over them for three centuries! But instead of promptly embracing the opportunity, they appear to have been only thinking of the re-establishment of the legitimate power of their oppressors—the restoration of Ferdinand the adored. The prevailing anxiety of the colonists, from the commencement of the disturbances in Spain, had been an apprehension of falling under the power of Bonaparte, in the event of his becoming master of the Spanish peninsula; and as the cause of the Spanish patriots became more desperate, the fears of the colonists increased. "What will become of us if Spain shall be conquered?" was a question universally asked; and its discussion directly led to the consideration of the necessity and the right of providing new guards for their own security. The question only admitted of two answers; for if Spain fell under the power of France, her colonies must have shared her fate, or taken care of themselves. The case supposed, presented but an alternative to America, to fall under the power of France, or become independent. The first ideas which the Americans had of independence, did not relate to independence, as it respected Spain, but as to France. How different was the origin of the revolution which resulted in the independence of the British American colonies, from that which separated the Spanish colonies from the mother country. The revolution in the British colonies originated from measures of oppression on the part of the parent state, and long and systematical resistance to those measures on the part of the colonies. The Anglo-Americans were alarmed, from an apprehension of being oppressed by the parent country; but the Spanish Americans, although tyrannised over by Spain for centuries, were terrified at the prospect of the overthrow of the power of their oppressors, and that that event would place them under the dominion of a foreign power, which they detested. Although such, generally, were the feelings of the Spanish colonists; yet at this period, and before, there were some few enlightened individuals in the different settlements, who entertained higher views and hopes; who wished to avail themselves of the present juncture to restore their country to its natural rights, of which it had been deprived for three hundred years.

The illegal regency in Spain, being encouraged by the manifesto of the merchants of Cadiz, addressed a proclamation to the colonies in America; and with the intention of conciliating them, at a crisis when it was evident Spain could do nothing without their assistance, the proclamation contains sentiments

not less true than remarkable, as emanating from such a source.

"Americans, ye have been long weighed down by a yoke more oppressive to bear, because ye were distant from the centre of power. We now place your future destiny in your own hands. Ye have hitherto been the football, as it were, of the viceroys, always subject to their ambition and caprice, while at the same time ye were a prey to their cupidity. From this time your fate shall not depend on them."

The regency, also, endeavoured to impress on the Americans, that Spain and her colonies were to share the same fate, whatever it might be. "It is not sufficient," they observe, "for you to be Spaniards, unless, whatever be the event of fortune, you also belong to Spain."

The news of the disastrous events in the Spanish Peninsula, and the proclamation of the regency, reached Caraccas in the year 1810, and occasioned great alarm. The struggle in Spain was believed to be nearly at an end, and the final triumph of Bonaparte certain. At such a conjuncture, the inhabitants felt it to be their duty and their right to provide for their own security; the legitimate government of the mother country being annihilated, and the colonies exposed to fall into the hands of a foreign power. They felt the more confirmed in this course, as they had no longer any reason to doubt that it was the design of the Spanish chiefs at home, and of all the colonial officers in America, who were determined to yield obedience to every species of government established in the Peninsula, however illegal, that the colonies should fall under the dominion of Bonaparte in case he conquered Spain. We have seen that the colonial chiefs were willing to sacrifice their king, and recognize the power of Joseph Bonaparte, as sovereign of Spain; and after the insurrection in the Peninsula, they had evinced a readiness to acknowledge the authority of any self-created tribunal in Spain, however palpably illegal, and at the same time to resist every attempt of the colonists to establish any provisional tribunal, which might preserve the country from anarchy in case of the subjugation of the parent country. The prime object of the colonial rulers was to keep the colonies in a state of *dependence* on some power in Europe; and they seemed hardly to care where or what it was. And it is not difficult to discover the motives of this conduct; as long as America could be kept in a state of dependence, the colonial rulers supposed a readiness to acknowledge any authority which claimed dominion over Spain, and consequently over America, was the most sure way of preserving their station

They wished to keep America dependent, not so much from a regard to the interests of Spain, as to preserve their own power; being very sensible that they could have no part in any government constituted by the people. Hence the violence, with which they pursued the American patriots; every act, every movement tending towards the independence of the colonies, although temporary, and with entire and express recognition of the dominion of Ferdinand the seventh, was regarded as a blow aimed at their own power. This is the cause of the fury with which they pursued the first patriots in the colonies, and the zeal they pretended to feel for their country, was stimulated by an apprehension of losing their own power, a passion of all others the most violent and vindictive.

The inhabitants of Caraccas were well acquainted with the opinions and feelings of the captain-general of the province, and aware that he intended, at all events, to keep them in a state of dependence; and considering that, as the legitimate government in Spain was at an end, the powers of government during this suspension of authority in the parent state, had reverted to the people; and that in the language of their brethren in the north, in their solemn declaration to the world, it consequently had become a right and a duty to "provide new guards for their own security." By the almost unanimous voice of the people, the Spanish colonial officers were deposed, and the cabildo, or municipal body, together with several other persons, designated by the people, were vested with the powers of government, and styled a *Junta Suprema*. The junta, however, acted in the name of Ferdinand the seventh; and although they disallowed the authority of the regency at Cadiz, they offered to afford all the aid in their power towards the prosecution of the war against France. In May following, a junta was established at Buenos Ayres in a more peaceable manner, the measure having been decided on by a congress called together by the consent of the viceroy in consequence of the intelligence from Europe.

The influence which the condition of Spain had on the colonies, the measures that the Americans had adopted, and the violence with which they had been opposed by the Spanish rulers, both in Spain and the colonies, had greatly increased the jealousy and unfriendly feelings between the Creoles or native Americans, and the European Spaniards in America. In July, (1810) an affray occurred at Santa Fe de Bogota, which originated from a European Spaniard, insulting a native American, and including in the opprobrious and reproachful language which he applied to him, all his countrymen. The

quarrel between two individuals soon assumed a serious aspect; the citizens collecting to the scene of contention, the Spaniards joining on the side of their countrymen, and the creoles taking part with theirs, a contest ensued, in which the latter, being the most numerous, were triumphant.

Under the influence of the excitement, which this popular contest had occasioned, a meeting of the inhabitants was convened, and a junta established. In Chile the captain-general exasperated the people to such a degree, that he was obliged to resign his office, and a junta was formed in September; and in Mexico an insurrection broke out the same month in consequence of the violent measures of Venegas, the new viceroy.

Accounts of these proceedings in the colonies, were sent to Spain, by the colonial governors, with all the exaggeration which their exasperated feelings were calculated to give to them; and their effect on the regency must have gratified their most violent resentments. The official despatches of the junta of Caraccas, containing the reasons which had induced the people to take the course they had, the nature of the power assumed, and that, although they could not submit to the authority of the regency, they recognised the supremacy of Ferdinand, had no influence on the unstable and violent councils of a distracted state.* The regency of Spain, illegal and impotent as it was, with that rashness and violence which oppugnation to illegal power, usually occasions, immediately declared Caraccas in a state of blockade. This decree was published on the 31st of August, 1810, and its importance, as well as to exhibit its spirit, requires its insertion here:—

"Scarcely had the council of regency received intelligence of the occurrences at Caraccas, whose inhabitants, instigated no doubt by some intriguing and factious persons, were guilty *of declaring themselves independent of the mother country, and of forming a governing junta to exercise this supposed independent authority, when it determined to take the most active and efficacious means to attack the evil in its origin, and prevent its progress.* But, in order to proceed with mature deliberation, the regency consulted the council of Spain and the Indies, and has taken such measures as will answer the end proposed, particularly as neither the province of Maracaibo, nor the department of Coro, have taken part in the criminal proceedings; but, *on the contrary, have acknowledged the council of regency, and taken the most efficacious measures to oppose the absurd idea of Caraccas declaring herself independent, without being possess-*

*Walton's Expose to the king of England.

ed of the means of obtaining this independence! The regency hereby declares the province of Caraccas in a state of rigorous blockade," &c. "These resolutions do not extend to the above-mentioned divisions, which, having refused to follow the pernicious example of Caraccas, have manifested their constant fidelity by opposing the plan of rebellion, which only originated in the unlimited ambition of some persons, and in the blind credulity of others, who suffered themselves to be hurried away by the ardent passions of their fellow countrymen. The regency has taken the most secure measures to extirpate these evils, and to punish the authors of them with all the rigour which the rights of sovereignty authorize it to use, unless there be a previous and voluntary submission, in which case the regency grants them a general pardon. The regency commands that these resolutions be circulated through all the Spanish dominions, that they may be carried into effect there, as well as in foreign countries, and that they may act conformably to the measures taken for the blockade of the said coasts," &c.

If the causes which led to the revolution, in the British colonies in America, were unlike those which occasioned the first movements of that, in the Spanish colonies, the conduct of the two parent governments, occasioned by the first proceedings of the colonies, were very similar, and proceeded from the same feelings. The blockade of Caraccas, is a measuse that compares very well with the Boston Port Bill, and other acts of Parliament, which instantly followed the news of the destruction of the tea; and although, perhaps, more violent, it was dictated by the same spirit, and justified on the same principles. The pride of dominion is not only the most arrogant, but perhaps the strongest and most sensitive of all human passions; and when it is wounded, its resentments are violent and vindictive in the extreme.

This decree of the regency was a declaration of war, and its authors, without inquiring into the causes which occasioned the measures pursued in the colonies, or making a single effort for conciliation, rashly plunged the two countries into all the horrors of civil war. The answer of the junta of Caraccas, to the Marquis de las Hermazas, minister in Spain, containing an expose of the reasons, which occasioned the establishment of the junta, and justifying the measure, instead of tending to allay the feelings of the regency, and the people of Spain, greatly inflamed them; and the intelligence, that other colonies were following the examples of Caraccas, excited their resentment to the highest pitch. The Cortes had been

convened, and both the government and the people seemed ripe for war, and thirsting for vengeance. The severest invectives, reproaches, and sarcasms, against the Americans, were published in the Cadiz newspapers; and the most violent measures were adopted, not only calculated, but intended, to enkindle the flames of civil war in America, and thus either coerce her into an acknowledgement of the authority of Spain, whatever it might be, or make her destroy herself. Agents or emissaries were sent to Puerto Rico, Monte Video, Panama, and Mexico, for the purpose of arousing political and religious prejudices in favour of Spain, and against the new governments in America, and by making promises to some, and threatening others, to produce dissentions among the patriots, and thus destroy the new governments in the bud. But the principal reliance of the rulers of Spain was on the sword, and consequently, troops were sent to Monte Video, Vera Cruz, Coro, Santa Martha, and Panama, with a view to dragoon the Americans into submission; although at this time, every soldier was wanted at home for the defence of the country. The rage, however, which prevailed against the invaders of their own country, violent as it was, did equal that towards the rebellious Americans. The animosity of the Cortes, against the colonists, corresponded with the feelings of the regency; and although some Americans, who happened at the time to be in the isle of Leon, were chosen members of the Cortes, so strong were the feelings of that body, they scarcely dared to speak in favour of their countrymen. One of the Cortes observed, "That if the Americans complained of having been oppressed for three hundred years, they should experience a similar treatment for three thousand." "I rejoice," said another after the victory of Albufera, "for the advantages we have gained, because we can now send troops to reduce the insurgents." A third, in declaiming against the baseness of the conduct of the colonists, said, "I do not know to what race of beings the Americans belong."*

Such was the spirit which animated the councils of Spain, and dictated the measures they adopted towards America; and their agents and officers in the colonies, exasperated by the loss of power, or alarmed from an apprehension of it, were fit instruments to execute measures of vengeance, to scatter the fire brands of civil dissentions, and carry on a vindictive and sanguinary war, the object of which was, either to subjugate the rebellious Americans, or to exterminate them.—

* Manifesto of Alvarez Toledo, deputy to the Cortes.

Those who possess supreme power, however acquired, regard the invasion of it as the greatest of all crimes. The patriots of America were denounced as rebels and traitors, and the vengeance of the state, and the anathemas of the church, directed against them. That a contest commenced under such auspices should have become a war of extermination, and in its progress have exhibited horrid scenes of cruelty desolation, and deliberate bloodshed; that all offers of accommodation should be repelled with insult or outrage; capitulations violated, public faith disregarded, prisoners of war cruelly massacred, and the inhabitants persecuted, imprisoned, and put to death, cannot occasion surprise, however much it may excite regret. As violence and cruelty produce the bitter spirit of recrimination and revenge, the outrages of the Spaniards exasperated the Americans, and led to retaliation, which rendered the contest *a war of death*, as it was often called, characterised by a ferocious and savage spirit, scarcely surpassed by that of the Cortes and Pizarros, who first desolated this fair portion of the earth, and drenched its mountains and plains with the blood of its innocent inhabitants. The events of the revolutionary struggle, which we have now commenced narrating, will fully justify us in what we have asserted as to the spirit and conduct of the Spanish chiefs and rulers; in charging them with the first disregard of the laws of war among civilized nations, and the first outrages against the rights of humanity. The violent measures of the Spanish rulers, and the furious and cruel conduct of their agents in America, towards the patriots, produced an effect directly contrary from what was expected; but nevertheless, what was natural, and would have been foreseen, had they taken counsel from their understandings, instead of their mortified pride and exasperated feelings. The high-toned measures, enforced with rigour and cruelty, which it was expected would have intimidated the patriots, and stifled the spirit of independence, only served, like violent winds, acting on half extinguished coals, to enliven its latent sparks, and blow them into a flame. The authority of a state over its colonies, especially when at a great distance, cannot long be supported on any other basis than that of mutual affection and attachment between the inhabitants of the two countries. Spain, notwithstanding the example of Great Britain, from which she might have profited, seems to have entirely disregarded this maxim; and instead of attempting to allay the spirit of disaffection, which disclosed itself, and restore the mutual attachments and confidence between the two countries, by in justice and cruelty, alienated the affections of

the colonists from the parent country; dissolved the ties of fraternity, and enkindled, from a few sparks; a revolutionary flame, which spread through all her dominions. When the juntas were first organised in the several colonies, there were probably few individuals who had any thoughts of attempting to establish the independence of the country, and most of the people were wholly unprepared for such an event; but in consequence of the tyrannical and persecuting conduct of the Spanish rulers at home and in America, so wide had the disaffection spread, and to such a degree were the people alienated from Spain, and irritated against their oppressors, that in one year they became ripe for a revolution, and prepared to assume the responsibility of taking the reins of government into their own hands; of declaring to the world "that they were, and of right ought to be, free, sovereign, and independent," at the hazard of their lives and fortunes.

Caraccas took the lead, and a congress of the several provinces in Venezuela was convened, which, on the 5th of July, 1811, in imitation of the American congress, just thirty-five years before, published a declaration of Independence; containing the reasons which impelled them to the separation, and pledging their lives fortunes, and the sacred tie of national honour, to maintain it.

The noble example of Venezuela was followed by Carthagena, Socorro, Tunja, Pamplona, Antioquia, and the other provinces forming the confederation of New Grenada and likewise by Mexico, which published similar declarations; and at a later period Buenos Ayres, also, promulged a declaration of Independence.

The proceedings in America opened the eyes of the Cortes of Spain to the tendency of their conduct, and perceiving that they were driving the Americans to a separation, they became alarmed, and had recourse, after it was too late, to conciliating measures. The members of the Cortes, who belonged to America, had submitted a plan for the accommodation of the differences existing between Spain and her colonies, but the Cortes had refused even to consider it; yet in January, 1811, their project, containing eleven propositions, was discussed; and, notwithstanding the apprehensions of the Cortes, arising from the movements in America, they remained not only deaf to the calls of justice, but insensible to the dictates of expediency. The project was rejected, three propositions only being approved of. As these propositions reflect light on the dispute between America and Spain, and at the same time, tend to show the restrictions and oppressions

under which the colonies have suffered for ages, it deserves a place in a history of the revolution which separated the two countries.

"1st. In conformity to the decree of the central junta, dated the 15th of October, 1809, which declared the inhabitants of Spanish America equal in rights to those of the peninsula, the national representation of every part of Spanish America, the Spanish West Indies, and the Philippine Islands, including every class of their inhabitants, shall be the same in form, manner, and without distinction, as in the kingdom and islands of European Spain.

"2dly. The free natives and inhabitants of Spanish America shall be allowed to plant and to cultivate whatever their climate will produce; with license to encourage industry, and to promote manufactures and arts in their fullest extent.

"3dly. Spanish America shall enjoy the liberty of exporting her own natural and manufactured productions to the peninsula, as well as to the allies, and to neutral nations; and of importing whatever she may want. All her ports are consequently to be opened." This and the preceding demand were agreed to, but the order to carry them into execution was never published.

"4thly. There shall be a free trade between Spanish America and the Spanish settlements in Asia. Every thing militating against this freedom to be abolished.

"5thly. Freedom of trade to be granted from all the ports in Spanish America and the Philippine Islands to other parts of Asia. Any law existing contrary to such freedom to be annulled.

"6thly. All estancos, or monopolies in favour of the public treasury, or of the king, shall be suppressed; but the public treasury shall be indemnified for the loss of profit arising from such monopoly, by new duties on the same articles.

"7thly. The working of the quicksilver mines shall be free in Spanish America, but the administration of the produce shall remain in charge of the officers of the minery department, independent of the viceroys and captain-general, and officers of the *real hacienda*." This was granted, and orders were published for carrying it into execution in the provinces under the Spaniards.

"8thly. All Spanish Americans shall be eligible equally with Spaniards to all appointments of rank or emolument, whether at court or in any part of the monarchy, either in political, military, or ecclesiastical departments.

"9thly. Consulting the natural protection of each kingdom in Spanish America, half of the public appointments shall be filled by Spanish subjects born in America.

"10thly. That the above stipulations may be punctually adhered to, a consultive junta shall be formed in each capital, to the intent that it may propose persons suited to fill each vacancy.

"11thly. Considering the great advantages resulting from the cultivation of science, and the benefits that may be derived from instructing the Indians, the order of the Jesuits to be re-established by the Cortes."

It is curious to notice the fluctuating policy of both France and England, as to the dispute between Spain and her colonies. After the occurrences at Bayonne, France attempted to acquire dominion over America as an appendage of Spain, and wished to maintain the dependence of the former on the latter. But the Bonapartes soon became satisfied, from the extreme repugnance manifested by the Americans to their dominion, that whatever might be the event of the war as to old Spain, the colonies would never acknowledge or submit to the sway of France. The Bonapartes, therefore, changed their views, and became the abettors of the independence of America, for the purpose of cutting off from Spain the pecuniary resources she derived from her colonies, as well as to weaken her by involving her in a civil war. Thus, whilst all the different governments in the Spanish peninsula, maintaining the rights of Ferdinand, were opposing the independence of America, Joseph Bonaparte, claiming the throne of Spain, against whose sovereignty the Americans had shown so much hostility, was attempting to promote it. He despatched agents to America for the purpose of exciting and encouraging the revolution there; giving them full and minute instructions, embracing even the motto to be inscribed on the revolutionary banners, which was, "Long live the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, and perish the bad government." These instructions were given to M. Desmolard, of Baltimore, who was the principal agent of Joseph Bonaparte, and to other emissaries sent into the colonies. A copy of these instructions was found in Caraccas in the office of the secretary of the junta, and forwarded by the admiral of the Barbadoes station, as a caution against the intrigues of the Bonapartes. The French agents penetrated into different parts of the American settlements, and one of them was discovered in the town of Habana, and shot.

The court of St. James, in 1797, openly encouraged a revolution in Venezuela, as appears by the proclamation of the governor of Trinidad, which we have copied in this work. Spain then being an ally of France, and her resources wasted by Napoleon, in supporting his wars against England and her allies, the British ministry wished to separate her colonies from Spain, to deprive her of the supplies she received from them, and also to secure to Great Britain a lucrative trade with America. But after the general rising in Spain, against Bonaparte, the tables were turned, and the Spaniards, from being the enemies of Great Britain, became her friends and allies. Feeling interested in the success of the war prosecuting in the Spanish peninsula, against France, Great Britain became the mediator between Spain and her colonies, and in June, 1810, Lord Liverpool wrote to General Layard, governor of Curracoa, "That his Britannic majesty had strong reasons for hoping that the inhabitants of Caraccas would acknowledge the authority of the regency of Spain." The governor sent copies of this letter to the government at Caraccas, and also to the regency at Cadiz, in both of which places it was published; and soon after Colonel Robertson, the secretary of the governor of Curracoa, arrived at Caracoas, with the evident design of promoting the wish of the British cabinet; but perceiving how universal the disaffection of the inhabitants was, towards the regency of Spain, he did not communicate the object of his mission. Not discouraged, however, in her efforts to restore harmony between Spain and her colonies, in April, 1811, Great Britain offered her mediation, which was accepted by the Cortes, on certain conditions; among which, the principal were, that the revolted provinces should swear allegiance to the Cortes and regency; and in case the Americans should not accede to the terms proposed, that the British government should engage to assist Spain, to subdue them by force. Unreasonable as these terms were, the British government appointed commissioners; but probably from an expectation, that the Cortes might be induced to accede to more liberal terms of accommodation. In 1812, the British government submitted to the Cortes the following propositions, as the basis on which they would undertake the mediation:

"1st. That there should be a cessation of hostilities between Spain and Spanish America.

"2dly. An amnesty shall be granted, and perfect oblivion of all acts, or even opinions that may have been expressed, by the Spanish Americans against the Spaniards or their government.

"3dly. That the Cortes shall confirm and enforce all the rights of the Spanish Americans, and that they shall be allowed justly and liberally their representatives in the Cortes.

"4thly. That Spanish America should be permitted perfect freedom for commerce, though some degree of preference may be allowed to Spain.

"5thly. That the appointments of viceroys, governors, &c. shall be given indiscriminately to South Americans and Spaniards.

"6thly. That the interior government, and every branch of public administration, shall be intrusted to the cabildo, or municipalities, who shall act in conjunction with the chief of the provinces; and that the members of the cabildo shall be either South Americans or Spaniards, possessing property in the respective provinces.

"7thly. That Spanish America shall swear allegiance to Ferdinand the Seventh, as soon as she is put in possession of her rights, and has sent deputies to the Cortes.

"8thly. That Spanish America shall acknowledge the sovereignty possessed by the Cortes, as representing Ferdinand the Seventh.

"9thly. That Spanish America shall pledge herself to maintain a mutual and friendly intercourse with the peninsula.

"10thly. That Spanish America shall oblige herself to cooperate with the Cortes and the allies of Spain to preserve the peninsula from the power of France.

"11thly. That Spanish America shall pledge herself to send liberal succour to the peninsula for the continuance of the war."

These proposals occasioned very long and animated debates in the Cortes, in secret session, and were finally rejected, principally on the grounds that the Americans had not solicited the mediation of England, and that the British government had sinister views in offering it. That to secure to themselves the commerce of the colonies, was the principal motive which prompted the interference of the British, there is no room to doubt. During the same period, the British minister at Cadiz was pressing the regency hard to obtain the privilege of opening a trade with their trans-atlantic dominions, and in April, 1811, the subject was brought before the Cortes, which occasioned much excitement among the merchants of Cadiz, and the papers were filled with invectives against the unreasonable demands and sinister friendship of England. On the 24th of July, the board of trade at Cadiz

discussed this question, and issued a protest or manifesto, in which they assert, "that a free trade with the American provinces would work a ruin greater than that which Spain then experienced; that those who were desirous of establishing it were impostors, and deserving of exemplary punishment, and of perpetual banishment: That the fate of Spain, and her political existence, depended on the solution of this question: That the names of those who proposed such a disastrous trade ought to be transmitted to posterity, that they might receive from later ages the indignation they justly merited: That the Americans had not required the establishment of this free trade; that they even detested it as prejudicial to their interest: That Spain would be ruined, made the tool of foreigners, and that, her merchants and manufactures being destroyed, she would herself lose all freedom. That, in short, this commerce would be subversive of religion, order, society, and morality."

This temperate and powerful reasoning seems to have convinced the Cortes; for in August following, the demands of the British were formally rejected.

After the establishment of the junta at Caraccas, in 1810, Don Telesford Orea was sent to Washington to solicit the friendship of the only republic then in the world; and which, it was hoped, would approve of the stand they had assumed, if not aid them in sustaining it.

It could hardly have been expected, that, at this early period, the government of the United States would compromit the peace of the republic, by directly or indirectly affording aid to a cause, the nature and design of which they could know little about, and the issue of which was so uncertain.—But from the very commencement of the contest—the first dawn of the light of liberty in Spanish America, the people of the United States sympathised with their brethren in the south, in their political afflictions, and wished them success in the glorious cause in which they had embarked.

About the same time the Caraccas junta deputed Don Luis Lopez Mendez, and Don Simon Bolivar, a name that has since become illustrious, to solicit the support of the British government; but the latter declined the mission. From the instructions given to Sir Thomas Picton, in 1797, by the minister of the colonial department, wherein the British government openly attempted to induce the inhabitants to revolt, and pledged itself to afford them assistance, and from the expedition sent against Buenos Ayres, and that against Venezuela, under Miranda, who was supported by the British ministry,

the Venczuelans considered that they had a right to expect the countenance and succour of the British government. So deeply was this sentiment impressed on the minds of the inhabitants of Caraccas, both Spaniards and Americans in 1810, that it had great influence on the revolutionary movement which took place at that time. But the war which broke out in the Spanish peninsula, against Bonaparte, changed the policy of the English government; and the only effect the agent of the junta of Caraccas produced, was an order in council, directing the governors of their West India islands to maintain a strict neutrality in the contest between Spain and her colonies, so long as the latter should act in the name of Ferdinand the Seventh. This order not only excluded all hope of assistance from England, but seemed to imply, that if the patriots should declare themselves independent of Ferdinand, the British would take a part against them.

CHAPTER III.

Measures of the junta of Caraccas—arrival of General Miranda—congress—plans of a constitution—patriotic society—conspiracy—execution of conspirators—operations at Valencia—formation of a constitution—conspiracy against the junta of New Grenada—regency attempt to conciliate the colonies—junta of Carthagena—congress of New Grenada—civil dissentions—massacre at Quito—defeat of the royalists in Popayan—defeat of the patriots.

In the preceding chapter, we have examined the leading causes of the revolution, and traced its events, for a period of two years, so far as respects the relations between the colonies and Spain, and the conduct of the two parties towards each other; and also as regards the intentions and policy of England and France, relative to the revolution. We will now look into the interior of the revolution, view the political measures of the new governments, and proceed to enter on the distressing details of the dreadful war, which, for more than twelve years, raged with the greatest fury in Colombia.

The junta at Caraccas, organized in 1810, after deposing the Spanish authorities, of which the captain-general and members of the audience were sent to the United States, adopted several popular regulations; they abolished the tribute paid by the Indians, and the slave trade, and removed the restrictions on commerce and agriculture, and made other reformations which the oppressed condition of the colony required. These decrees being published, by order of the juntas, in the other provinces in Venezuela, all of them except Maracaibo, formed juntas in imitation of that of Caraccas; they did not, however, acknowledge the supremacy of that, but proposed a general congress for all the provinces of Venezuela. Soon after the establishment of the junta in Guiana, the Spaniards, gaining the ascendency, it declared against the junta of Caraccas, and in favour of the regency of Cadiz. Don Fernando Miyares, governor of Maracaibo, opposed the innovations at Caraccas, arrested the deputies sent there, and confined them in the dungeons of Puerto Rico, from which, after severe suffering, they were liberated by the interference of Admiral Cochrane.

After the regency of Spain declared all the ports belonging to the new government in a state of blockade, it despatched

Don N. Cortavarria as commissioner, clothed with absolute authority to induce the rebellious Venezuelans to unconditional submission, if they did not listen to reason, and return to obedience. He exhorted the inhabitants not to suffer themselves to be led astray by designing men, but to abandon their evil counsels, and, like dutiful children, return to the arms of the best of parents. He promised that if they would dissolve their illegal governments; then Spain would redress their grievances. His proclamations were answered, and his designs exposed, in the papers at Caraccas, which induced him to have recourse to secret means; and emissaries were sent into all parts of Venezuela, to work on the prejudices and fears of the people, and produce a counter revolution. The prompt resistance of the governor of Maracaibo, to the revolutionary measures, was so pleasing to the regency of Cadiz, that he was appointed captain-general of Venezuela. To guard against any measures of opposition which he might pursue, and to watch his movements, the Caraccas junta sent the Marquis del Toro with a body of troops to Carora, which occasioned two of the departments of the province of Maracaibo, to dissolve their connexion with that province, and place themselves under the protection of the marquis, and the junta of the province of Barinas. Troops were sent under Don Diego del Toro, and Don Pedro Brizeno for the protection of those departments. Agreeable to his instructions, the Marquis del Toro opened a correspondence with Miyares, the captain-general, and attempted to convince him of the necessity and advantages of uniting the province of Maracaibo with the rest of Venezuela, but without success.

Believing that the inhabitants of the province of Maracaibo were generally disposed to join their brethren of the other provinces of Venezuela, several attempts at insurrection having been made in the town of Maracaibo, and alarmed from an apprehension of the arrival of troops from Spain, the Marquis del Toro communicated to the government at Caraccas an opinion, that if Coro, one of the departments of the province of Caraccas which held out against the new government, was attacked and the royal party subdued, Maracaibo would join in the general cause.

This measure being approved of by the junta, the Marquis del Toro entered the department of Coro, in November, 1810, and, at first, all resistance yielding before him, he took possession of the capital, of the same name as the department.—From the town of Coro to Carora, from whence the army had marched, is a distance of one hundred and twenty miles; the

country is uncultivated and sandy, and from a neglect of the general to station his forces so as to preserve a communication with Carora, his provisions for the army failed; and being disappointed in the co-operation of the ships of war which sailed from Puerto Cabello for that purpose, in consequence of the weather, the Marquis del Toro was compelled to retreat, and relinquish the object of the expedition. But as the retreat was not effected without difficulty and hard fighting, something was gained by the expedition, as it tended to increase the confidence of the government and the people in the army.

At the close of the year 1810, general Miranda arrived at Caraccas from England, contrary to the wishes of the government, which had instructed its deputy sent to London to oppose his return to his native country at present. The reason of this was, the junta of Caraccas believed that the return of Miranda to Venezuela, which would be presumed to be in pursuance of the desire of the government, would have an unfavourable influence on the cause, in consequence of the known revolutionary designs of Miranda and his repeated attempts to free Venezuela from the dominion af Spain. As the ostensible views of the new goverment did not go so far as those of General Miranda, they could not consistently invite him into the country, or entrust him with any employment.

The general congress for all the provinces of Venezuela, convened for its first session on the 2d of March, 1811, and was constituted according to the regulations of the supreme junta of Caraccas; which provided for taking a census of the population, for forming the electoral colleges; fixed the ratio of representation and the mode of election. One representative was allowed for every twenty thousand persons, and about fifty deputies were elected and took their seats in the congress. The junta, to expedite the business of the congress, had, previous to their meeting, appointed a committee, consisting of Don F. X. Ustariz, Don Fermin Paul, General Miranda, Don J. Roscio and others, to frame a constitution, to be submitted to the congress. The committee, after several conferences, with the exception of Miranda, united in the opinion that a confederation was the best form of government for Venezuela. General Miranda's opinion was widely different; he laid before the committee a plan of a constitution, the same he had intended to have presented to the people, had he succeeded in his attempt to revolutionize Terra Firma in 1806. It was designed for a more extensive territory than Venezuela, and did not essentially differ from the Spanish colonial system. Miranda, who had been received at first with

jealousy, greatly increased the fears which prevailed of his entertaining ambitious views, by his constitutional project.—And although the most distinguished advocates of independence had full confidence in his integrity, and highly venerated his talents and patriotism, his friends could not obtain an election for him to the congress, except in the insignificant department of Araguita, in Barcelona. As is usually the case with a state just emerged from oppression, the congress disclosed much jealousy, and experienced much difficulty in disposing of the executive power. At length, in the month of April, they entrusted it to three persons, named by the congress, but so limited and restricted as evinced their fears of its subverting the other branches of the government.

The congress was not united, even on the main question; there was a party in favour of a re-union with Spain; but a decided majority were advocates for independence, and the minority were afraid to declare their sentiments, in consequence of the enthusiasm of the people of Caraccas in the revolutionary cause. General Miranda, sensible that intelligence was all that was necessary to increase the partizans of the revolution, in conjunction with Don Francisco Espejo, a distinguished lawyer, established a club, called the *patriotic society*, for the discussion of political questions; and all topics relating to the general welfare of the state.

The 19th of April, the anniversary of the revolution, was celebrated by the inhabitants of Caraccas, with an enthusiasm which nothing but the spirit of liberty could inspire. After service in the churches, all the inhabitants appeared in the streets, richly and appropriately dressed, wearing cockades on their hats, composed of blue, red, and yellow ribbands. The city was filled with rejoicing, the streets were lined with crowds of all classes, with countenances beaming with joy; even many parties of Indians collected in the environs of the town, and by dancing, and various sports, according to their customs, evinced that three hundred years of slavery and oppression had not extinguished from their race the sacred spark of liberty, or rendered them insensible to its blessings. The patriotic society moved in procession through the principal streets, adorned with badges of liberty, and bearing appropriate ensigns. At night the scene became more deeply interesting and sublime; the general joy seemed to increase; the city was illuminated throughout, and in the public and many of the private buildings the transparencies displayed with good taste, appropriate and patriotic mottos and inscriptions.—Bands of music paraded the streets, which, with numerous

parties of singers, filled the air with melody and song, which tended to diffuse the joyous and patriotic feelings that universally prevailed.

But the congress wanted courage and energy to profit from the enthusiasm of the people; by temporising and indecisive conduct, the confidence of the inhabitants in the government began to be weakened, and their enthusiasm declined. Several attempts to overthrow the government were detected, and the conspirators were only banished or imprisoned. In June, 1811, a most alarming plot was discovered, just as it was on the point of breaking out. This served to convince the government and the people, that it was necessary to adopt more decisive measures. Their condition, however, was critical and embarrassing; they had established a government, disavowed the existing authorities of Spain, and by these steps occasioned the parent country to make war upon them, although they had not declared themselves independent. They had brought on their country the evils of war, and were exposed to be punished as rebels, yet, unless they declared the country independent of Spain, they had no object in view, in any degree corresponding with such immense sacrifices. This subject was taken up and discussed in the patriotic society, and the prevailing opinion seemed to be, that nothing but a declaration of entire independence could save the country from ruin. Encouraged by these favourable sentiments among the people, a declaration of independence was proposed in the congress, and after being debated at great length, and with much earnestness, was finally adopted on the 5th of July, 1811. The good effects of the measure were immediately perceived; it gave energy to the government, and the principal of the conspirators were arrested. Their plan was to have secured the main barrack, by means of the treachery of a Spanish sergeant in the employ of the new government, which would have supplied them with ammunition and arms, and then to have attacked the town, in which several hundred of the conspirators were concealed, who would have joined in the assault the moment the first cannon was fired from the barracks. If it had succeeded, the three members of the executive, and the leading members of congress, were to have been instantly executed, and the remaining members sent to Spain. Notwithstanding the arrest of the leaders, the conspirators began to assemble at about three o'clock in the morning on the 11th of July, in that part of the city called Las-tegues; but the people who were apprised of the danger, were prepared to meet them, and after some resistance they

were captured and thrown into prison. The day preceding this event, an insurrection broke out at Valencia, situated in the interior, more than one hundred miles from Caraccas.—The Spaniards residing in the town surprized and took possession of the barracks, garrisoned by a few soldiers, and were joined by many of the other inhabitants, who were disaffected with the congress in consequence of its having opposed their plan of separating themselves from Caraccas, and forming a new province. Arms had been privately introduced into the town by the Spaniards, which, being put into the hands of the insurgents, they prepared to defend the town against the government.

The appearance of a new and unexpected enemy, the offspring of disaffection, greatly embarrassed and perplexed the government; they knew not how far the disaffection extended, or hardly who to trust; and the conspirators arrested refused to disclose their accomplices, from an expectation that their numbers were such, that with the assistance of the Spanish troops they should prevail, by which means they would be released. It was thought expedient to crush the insurrection in the germ, and immediately to attack the conspirators at Valencia; but the troops were required at Caraccas, for the protection of the town and the government. In this dilemma the government appealed to the inhabitants, and a sufficient number turned out in arms for the defence of the place. General Toro was then sent against Valencia. In the mean time, ten of the conspirators were tried, condemned and executed; and what is more shocking, and tends to prove that the revolution had not done away the inhuman and barbarous spirit of the inhabitants, their heads were placed on poles, at the entrance of the city, in pursuance of their sentence. Distrusting the military talents of the Marquis del Toro, the congress ordered General Miranda to take command of the army sent against Valencia. The insurgents had fortified two hills near the town, which commanded the road leading into it; one of which had been attacked and carried by Gen. Toro, before the arrival of Miranda, but with a very heavy loss to the patriots. Miranda, who by his appointment regained some part of his lost popularity, forced the other pass, stormed and entered the town, and drove a party of the royalists into the barrack called *de los pardas*. There they were attacked; and with such determination did they defend the position, that the patriots were several times repulsed with great loss. This encouraged the royalists in the town, who, from the windows and roofs of the houses, and from the towers of the churches

and monasteries, poured showers of musketry on the troops with such destructive effect, that Miranda was obliged to retire from the town. He retreated to Mariara, twelve miles from Valencia, one of the hills that had been fortified by the royalists, where he remained until the next month, when, being re-enforced, he assaulted and took possession of the town and dispersed the royalists. Miranda was now at the head of four thousand troops, with which he proposed to invade the department of Coro, and, although the executive was in favour of the proposal, it was defeated by the opposition of his enemies, whose animosity was revived by his recent success, and the jealousy of the congress.

The formation of a constitution had attracted the public attention since the publication of the declaration of Independence. A correspondence on the subject was carried on between Don F. X. Ustariz and Don J. Roscio, two of the committee to whom the subject had been referred, with several individuals in Santa Fe de Bogota, and others in the interior of Venezuela, which, being published, seemed to interest every body; and a series of essays were published in the Caraccas Gazette, written by one Burk, an Irishman, which, as well as the correspondence, were designed to convince the people that a federative republic, like that of the United States, was the best form of government for Venezuela.—Burk was patronized by Ustariz, Roscio and others, who were warm advocates of the federative system, and being well acquainted with the principles of the British and American constitutions, he exhibited the advantages of the plan proposed, confirmed and illustrated by the happy experience of the United States, in so striking a manner, as produced an enthusiastic admiration of a federal republic, which was almost universal. This sentiment prevailed also extensively in New Grenada. Whether this plan of government was best adapted to the condition of the population, and situation of the country, may admit of doubt; at any rate, a more concentrated and energetic system was afterwards thought preferable, and adopted with better success. The subject was entered upon in congress, and after debating the question several months, a constitution was prepared, approved of by that body, and offered to the people for their sanction on the 23d of December. Its outlines were similar to those of the constitution of the United States, as it respects the form or frame of the government, but in two particulars, at least, it differed very materially; it established the Roman Catholic religion as that of the state, and did not preserve a unity of power in the executive

branch, that being confided to three persons, to be chosen by the electoral colleges. The legislative power was reposed in a congress consisting of a house of representatives and a senate, the former chosen by the electoral colleges, and the latter by the provincial legislatures; its authority was defined and limited, and the powers of the legislatures of the several states or provinces were limited. A judiciary was to be organized, with a jurisdiction as to matters relating to the federal compact and national concerns. It recognized the sovereignty of the people, declared the mulattoes and other casts eligible to any employment in the state; abolished the use of the torture, the trade in slaves, the tribute of the Indians, and provided for their civilization. Maracaibo and Guiana were to be admitted into the confederacy as soon as they might be free from the dominion of Spain. A federal territory was acquired where the government was to be established, in imitation of the United States; the town of Valencia was ceded to the confederacy, and the congress opened its first session there, under the new constitution, in March, 1812.

The territory comprising the present republic of Colombia, consisted, whilst under Spain, it will be remembered, of two distinct governments—Venezuela and New Grenada, each comprising a number of provinces. When the authority of the regency of Spain was disobeyed in 1810, these territories acted separately, although with some degree of concert, and established separate juntas and provisional governments.—Some of the provinces, also, availing themselves of the general disorder, attempted to withdraw themselves from their political connexions, and established governments for themselves. This led to much confusion, and in some instances to war, among the different independent governments; at the same time, that they were all at war with Spain. It also served to disconnect the events of the revolution, so that it becomes necessary to trace them, for some time at least, distinctly, in each of the new governments. We commenced with Caraccas, or Venezuela, and having traced the events of the revolution, down to the establishment of the constitution, we will return to the opening of the bloody drama in New Grenada.

The government of New Grenada comprised twenty-two provinces, situated between Venezuela, Peru, and Guatamala. These provinces contained two and a half millions of inhabitants, and the capital, Santa Fe de Bogota, nearly thirty-five thousand.

It has been stated, that on receiving intelligence from Spain, of the dispersion of the central junta, and the creation of the regency, a junta was established at Santa Fe de Bogota, in July, 1810, by a public meeting assembled under the sanction of the viceroy. This junta at first chose Don A. Amar, the viceroy, president, and acknowledged the authority of the regency of Cadiz. In a few days the junta were alarmed by the report of a conspiracy, formed by the viceroy, and the members of the audience; and for their own safety, they caused the viceroy, and most of the members of the audience, to be arrested and sent to Carthagena, from whence they were conveyed to Spain. The junta disowned the authority of the regency, and published a manifesto, inviting the several provinces of New Grenada, to send deputies to a congress at Santa Fe de Bogota, to establish a provisional government during the captivity of the king. Nine of the provinces, namely, Tunja, Pamplona, Casanare, Carthagena, Socorro, Antioquia, Choco, Neyva, and Mariquita, declared in favour of the revolution. Santa Martha, was also in favour of the revolution, yet acknowledged the authority of the regency; but some months afterwards, the junta of the province was overthrown by the intrigues of the Spaniards, and a new one created entirely devoted to Spain. In Popayan, the governor called a public meeting of the most considerable persons in the province, which decided that it was expedient to establish a junta; but the governor, chagrined at their conduct, dissolved the assembly, and raised troops to attack the junta of Santa Fe.—The latter, however, aware of the hostile designs of the governor, and to check his career, had despatcbed Baraya with a body of troops to watch and oppose him. An action was fought about twelve miles from the town of Popayan, in the beginning of the year 1811, in which Tacon, the governor, was defeated. The regency of Spain, alarmed at the progress and diffusion of the disaffection, attempted to conciliate the inhabitants of New Grenada by sending among them two of their countrymen, Don A. Villavicencio, and Don C. Montufar, as commissioners, to support the authority of the regency; but they did not arrive until the revolution had progressed too far, and the public mind become too deeply imbued with liberal sentiments, to admit of their being of any use to their employers.

Montufar arrived at Quito, a few days after the massacre of the inhabitants, on the 2d of August, 1810, by the troops sent from Lima; which so exasperated the people, that, with no other weapons than knives and clubs, they attacked the

soldiers with such fury as induced the Spanish authorities to order the troops to withdraw from the city, and to pass a decree of oblivion in favour of the inhabitants. Taking advantage of the fears of the Spanish authorities, Montufar prevailed on them to establish a junta for the province. This junta is the only one of which the regency of Spain approved.

In September, 1810, the junta of Carthagena issued a manifesto, setting forth the advantages which would result to New Grenada, by a union of all the provinces in a federal government; and at the same time conceding that the provinces were absolved from their political connexion, and had a right to adopt what form of government they pleased; for as the cessions at Bayonne destroyed the compact between Spain and America, so the revolution, at Santa Fe, severed the bond of union, which had bound together the provinces of New Grenada. This reasoning, calculated to mislead, was carried a little farther by the inhabitants of some of the departments, who supposed, that if the revolution had dissolved the political bands which united the provinces, it had, also, broken the ties which connected together the different departments of the same province. Mompox, a department of Carthagena, adopting the fallacious and dangerous reasoning of the junta of the province, proceeded to form a junta for the department, and also to appoint deputies to the congress to be held at Santa Fe. The government of Carthagena, not willing to have their own doctrine applied to their own province, by its departments, sent a military force under Don N. Ayos, and compelled Mompox to return to her connexion with Carthagena.

Near the close of the year 1810, the junta of Caraccas sent an ambassador to the new government at Santa Fe, and an alliance was entered into between them for their mutual protection. And in December some of the deputies to the general congress had assembled at Santa Fe. Several deputies, also, arrived from departments, which, like Mompox, were disposed to be formed into separate provinces. This gave rise to a question which threatened to increase the existing difficulties, whether the deputies from the departments should be admitted to their seats in the congress. At length, by the influence of Don A. Narino, secretary to the congress, it was agreed to suspend the decision, to give time to bring about an accommodation of the dispute. The pretensions of the departments were finally silenced, and the congress, relieved from this difficulty, convened again. A confederacy or com

pact was formed by the representatives of Pamplona, Tunja, Neyva, Carthagena, and Antioquia, on the 27th of November, 1811, at Santa Fe. The provinces retained the management of their local and internal concerns, and those of a general nature were confided to the federal congress. A supreme judicature was established to decide on questions growing out of the federal union, and the executive power, as well as the legislative, was intrusted to the congress.

The province of Cundinamarca disapproved of the articles of confederation, and refused to deliver up the mint, which it was required to do, by the stipulations made by the congress. An assembly of deputies of the province of Cundinamarca was convened by the junta of Santa Fe, its capital, to frame a constitution ; and one being prepared, it was ratified on the 17th of April, 1812, by a convention called especially for that purpose. Thus the junta of Santa Fe, who gave the first impulse to the revolution in New Grenada, by establishing a separate and opposing government for the province, were also the first to sow the seeds of dissention, which produced such bitter fruits. The constitution was a limited monarchy, acknowledging Ferdinand the Seventh ; but providing, that during the captivity of the king, a president, two counsellors, senators, judges of a supreme court of judicature, and the members of a military board, should be elected by the electoral colleges once every three years. The president possessed the executive power, but was to act in concert with the two counsellors, and the legislative power was confided to the senators and members of the high court of justice.

After the defeat of Tacon, the royal governor of Popayan, he fled to Pastos, where, for the purpose of raising an army to oppose the troops of Santa Ee, he liberated the slaves, and formed them into soldiers, for the purpose of enslaving his countrymen. This was the first instance of slaves being instigated to revolt against their masters, since the commencement of the revolution. The forces he raised, by these base means, were not sufficient to oppose the troops sent against him by the juntas of Quito and Popayan; and he was compelled to retreat to the south sea coast, near the port of San Buenaventura. Don N. Rodriguez, having succeeded Baraya in the command of the army, pursued him closely, and completely defeated him at Isquande, near the close of the year 1811.

Don J. Lozano, president of the government of Cundinamarca, proposed to the provinces of New Grenada to make a new division of their territory, the whole to form four parts,

in each of which a subordinate republic was to be established, and these formed into a federal republic. This plan, he thought, would give sufficient energy to the government to enable it to overcome the difficulties attending the establishment of their independence. The plan was opposed by the junta of Carthagena, and also by the congress, then in session, at the town of Ibagua, where it had removed from Santa Fe, after Cundinamarca refused to enter into the confederacy. Lozano resigned his situation as president, and was succeeded by Don A. Narino, who was not in favour of the proposed federal government, but wished to establish one more energetic. He was supported in his project by the provinces of Mariquita, Neyva, and Socorro; Tunja was, also, inclined to fall in with his plan, when a body of the troops of Cundinamarca, under Baraya, stationed in the town of Tunja, declared against Narino, and in favour of the congress. This induced the congress immediately to remove to Tunja, and occasioned a civil war between the adherents of Narino and those of the congress, in the beginning of the year 1812. An action was fought at Paloblanco, in the province of Socorro, in which Narino's troops were defeated, and the agents of the congress, availing themselves of this success, persuaded Mariquita and Neyva to join the confederacy. The congress, in consequence, removed to the town of Neyva, in October, 1812. The army of the confederacy was again successful, at Ventaquemada, which enabled the forces of the congress to besiege Santa Fe in December. Narino resigned the presidency before this event, but the legislative power refused to accept it; he proposed to the besiegers that he would quit New Grenada, on condition that they would spare the lives and property of the inhabitants of the capital. This reasonable proposal was not acceded to; the besiegers, confident of success, insisted on the surrender of the capital at discretion, which, being refused, they stormed the city, but were repulsed with great loss, and a large part of their army dispersed. A single division, under the command of Girardot, reached Tunja. A monument of stone, called *San Victorino* was erected in that part of the city where the action was fought, with inscriptions explanatory of the signal victory which saved the capital. These civil dissentions, arming the patriots against each other, who were engaged in the same contest, and that, a contest for liberty, were equally injurious and disgraceful to their cause.

The junta of Quito, being threatened with hostilities from the royalists of the province of Cuenca, raised an army for

its defence. The royal army of Cuenca, was commanded by the bishop, and many of its officers were ecclesiastics, who carried black standards ; and to show that they felt the influence of the religion they professed, which teaches to "resist not evil," they assumed the name of *the army of death.* When the junta of the province of Quito was established in August, 1810, Ruiz de Castilla was named president ; but when the regency of Spain approved of the junta, they appointed Molina to be its president. The junta refused to acknowledge him as president, and complained of his conduct to the Cortes of Spain. Placing himself at the head of the troops, which, after the massacre of the 2d of August had retired from Quito to Guayaquil, he marched to attack Quito and entered its territories, notwithstanding the Cortes had ordered him to desist from hostilities. He refused to obey this order, on pretence that it had been obtained by false representations. Don C. Montufar commanded the troops of Quito, and was defeated by the royalists of Cuenca, which enabled the troops from Lima, under Montes, who had succeeded Monlina, in the command, to enter the town of Quito on the 6th of November, 1812. The bloody Montes destroyed every thing before him ; a scene of devastation and massacre was exhibited shocking to contemplate ; one fifth of the inhabitants, who had remained to defend the city, were cruelly murdered ; and not satisfied with this slaughter, a detachment of his army was sent in pursuit of those who had fled from the town before the capture. And as if to show his triumphing, in such vandalism, he gave an account of his bloody deeds, himself, in a letter of the 11th of November, addressed to the governor of Guayaquil. After the capture of Quito, Montes relinquished the command of the army to Don N. Samano, a Spanish officer, who was stationed at Santa Fe when the revolution broke out. Samano marched towards Santa Fe, and on his way took the town of Popayan. Previous to this, Don J. Caycedo, president of the junta of Quito, had fallen into the hands of the royalists of Pastos, who had also defeated the troops of the province of Popayan, commanded by Macaulay, a citizen of the United States, who, with many of his officers, were made prisoners. Caycedo, Macaulay, and the other psisoners, were all put to death by the royalists.

Alarmed at the progress of the royal forces, every where marked with rapine and massacre, the government of Cundinamarca and the congress were aroused to the necessity of throwing aside their feuds, and uniting in the common cause, and for their common safety. They agreed to unite their

forces and to intrust the command to Narino, the president, who by both governments was appointed dictator. The united troops amounted to eight thousand men, at the head of which Narino marched against the royalists under Samano. He engaged and defeated them at *El atto del Palace*, from whence they retreated to Tumbo, twenty miles south of the city of Popayan, where being re-enforced they advanced to Popayan, and encamped at Calivia. Here the Independents attacked them, and a most obstinate action was fought; the contest was maintained with that desperate fury on both sides which characterizes a civil war. Victory at length declared for the patriots, and the royalists were forced to retreat.—Narino established a popular government at Popayan, and marched towards Pastos. Samano was superseded in the command of the Spanish army by Aymerci, who brought a re-enforcement of fresh troops from Quito. The provinces of Popayan and Pastos being situated in that part of the mountainous regions of the Andes, where the country, rising as it approaches the equator, is admirably calculated for defence; it abounds in advantageous positions and difficult defiles, easily fortified, and presents innumerable difficulties to an advancing army encumbered with baggage. Pastos is nearly two hundred and forty miles from Popayan, and Narino, on his way thither, engaged and defeated the royalists at El alto de Juanambu, Los Tacines and Aranda; but in these severe engagements he sustained the loss of many valuable officers, of whom Salazar, young and valiant, was universally admired, and his death deeply deplored. Hitherto the victories of Narino had cost him dear, and been productive of comparatively little advantages, as from the situation of the country he had been unable to pursue the enemy; but having nearly reached the town of Pastos, he expected to reap the advantage of his exertions. At the moment, however, when the object of his expedition seemed within his grasp, it was wrested from him by the artifice, rather than by the bravery of the enemy. His army consisted of two divisions, of which he had the immediate command of the one in advance. The royalists succeeded by their spies in spreading a report among the rear division of the army, that Narino, with the advance, had been attacked and completely defeated, which caused great consternation in that part of the army; and the enemy, taking advantage of it, marched with most of their forces against Narino, and defeated and made him prisoner; thus verifying the truth of the premature report they had put in circulation. This defeat was so serious, that it was with great difficulty Don J. M.

Cabal, who succeeded to the command, though a prudent and skilful officer, could effect a retreat to Popayan, being hotly pursued by the royalists, flushed with victory and thirsting for vengeance. Most of the prisoners were put to death; but it is remarkable that Narino was spared and sent a prisoner to Quito, thence to Lima, and finally to Cadiz in Spain.*

The defeat near Pastos occurred in June, 1814, and the account of it reached the congress about the same time they received the disagreeable intelligence from Europe of the overthrow of Bonaparte and the restoration of Ferdinand to the throne of Spain, and of the defeat of the patriots in Venezuela.

* "Don A. Narino is one of those few enterprising characters who had long viewed it with a prophetic eye, and even, in some measure, prepared the minds of the inhabitants of Santa Fe for independence. His opinions and wishes, too freely expressed in the early part of his youth, caused his imprisonment in 1794, and that of many of his friends, distinguished young men at Santa Fe de Bogota. Duran, Cabal, Cortes, Umana, Narino, Zea, and others, were at that time sent to Spain under an escort. Narino escaped the vigilance of his guards, and made his escape in the very act of landing at Cadiz, and presented himself to the government at Madrid. Notwithstanding this act of submission, the Spanish government was going to order his arrest, when Narino again escaped, and went to France; from whence he came to England, at the very epoch when Mr. Pitt's plan for separating Terra Firma from the Spanish government was in contemplation, in 1796. Then Narino returned to New Grenada incognito, with the view of carrying it into effect, but he was discovered and confined many years; during which he suffered the hardships of poverty, close imprisonment, &c. At last he regained his liberty, on condition that he should never quit Santa Fe, and that he should be always accompanied by a soldier. When the war in Spain commenced, the government of Santa Fe, being afraid of his uncommon powers of persuasion, as well as of the credit he possessed, had him arrested, ordering him to be sent to Carthagena; but Narino again escaped at *El Banco* over the river Magdalena, and went to Santa Maria. A Spaniard, who knew the house where he was concealed, discovered it to the governer, who had him immediately taken and then enforced the former orders of the government, by sending him to Carthagena, where he was thrown into the dungeons of Fort Bocachica. When the revolution took place, he was released; but his health was greatly impaired, and his legs had suffered much from the fetters he had been compelled to wear during his imprisonment. Having been taken prisoner at Pastos, it is wonderful that he was not executed, as almost all the prisoners were at that time; but he was conducted to Quito, thence to Lima, and he is now confined at La Caracca, in Cadiz. One of his sons, Antonio, gave at Bocachica a noble example of filial duty and affection, by suffering himself to be imprisoned with his father, whose misfortunes he wished, by sharing, to alleviate."—*Outline of the Revolution in South America.*

CHAPTER IV.

Earthquake in Venezuela—its influence on the revolution—events of the war in Venezuela—success of the royalists—Caraccas taken—capitulation of Miranda—violation of it by the royalists—dungeons of Puerto Cabello filled with the patriots—Spanish authority re-established in Venezuela—Bolivar—he revives the war—penetrates into Venezuela—his success—the war of death—victories of the patriots—Bolivar enters Caraccas, and liberates Venezuela—success of the patriots—the royalists arm the slaves—devastate the country—patriots again successful—battle of Carabobo—Bolivar defeated at La Puerta—royalists re-conquer Venezuela—surrender of Maturin.

We now resume the history of the revolution in Venezuela, which we had brought down to March, 1812, when congress commenced its first session under the new constitution. At this period the affairs of Venezuela prospered; the government was popular, and great unanimity prevailed among the people; the military force was adequate to the defence of the republic, and, as was thought, to expel the royalists from Guiana and Maracaibo. Commerce began to revive, to promote which, and at the same time conciliate the good opinion of England, the congress reduced the duties four per cent. in favour of the manufactures and commerce of that country.—Three thousand men, commanded by Gen. Mareno, were on the banks of the Orinoco, ready to cross and attack the royalists of Guiana in the city of Angostura; another corps of the republican troops was stationed at Barquisimeto, to check the royalists of Coro. But this prosperity in Venezuela, and all the hopes which it inspired, were annihilated in a moment.—On the 26th of March, between the hours of four and five o'clock in the afternoon, one of those awful convulsions which the earth sometimes experiences, spread desolation and dismay over Venezuela. During a minute and fifteen seconds, the earth groaned and agonized in convulsions, which were attended with the most awful consequences; the towns of Caraccas, La Guayra, Mayquetia, Merida, and Sanfelipe, were laid in ruins, and Barquisimeto, Valencia, Victoria, and many others, were considerably injured. Nearly twenty thousand persons fell victims to this tremendous earthquake. But the desolation, great as it was, was not the most serious part of

this calamity; it raised up from its own ruins the most dangerous enemy to the liberties of Venezuela—bigotry and the religious prejudices of a superstitious and priest-ridden people. The catastrophe occurred on Holy Thursday, when, in Roman Catholic countries, the people all commemorate the sufferings of the Redeemer, of which, representations are exhibited, and at the very hour when the people were crowding on to the churches to attend to the ceremonies and join the processions. The troops, as is usual, were stationed at the entrance of the churches to follow the processions; and most of the churches being thrown down, and also the principal barracks at Caraccas, a considerable number of the soldiers, as well as the citizens, were crushed to death and buried under the ruins; and most of the arms and ammunition were likewise destroyed.—This calamity, happening on the day and the very hour of a holy festival, the priests interpreted into a divine judgment, and a manifestation of the displeasure of the Almighty, at the abominable wickedness of attempting to secure their liberty. They proclaimed from the pulpit that a holy God had condemned the revolution, in language too audible not to be heard, and too distinct to be misunderstood; and they denounced his vengeance on all who favoured it. They told the credulous people, that as the earth swallowed up the rebellious Korah and his crew, they were punished in the same way, for the same sin—rebellion against their government.

Aided by the consternation this catastrophe had occasioned, they made the credulous inhabitants almost believe that hell was opening its fiery jaws to devour them. And with an ignorant and superstitious people, accustomed to revere and implicitly to obey the clergy, their interested zeal produced an extensive and alarming effect. The clergy have as a class, seldom been the advocates of liberty, and too often the instruments of oppression. They have in some instances been useful in inciting the people to oppose tyranny, but this has commonly been when their own privileges were attacked or threatened, or they expected to increase them by a political change. However, the clergy in the United States, with the exception of those of the church of England, were the advocates of the American revolution, and extremely useful; but as political revolutions in favour of liberty usually either endanger or attack their privileges, they have generally in all countries and ages, been the most violent and formidable opponents of revolutions; especially where a national or state religion is maintained, as the government in such cases takes care to make it their interest to support the powers that be. The revolution

in Venezuela had of necessity deprived them of some of their privileges, for these were among the abuses which required correction, and hence their opposition to it.

At Barquisimeto, as well as at Caraccas, the barracks were thrown down, and a considerable part of the troops buried under the ruins; and Xalon, their commander, severely wounded. On the very day of this calamity, they were preparing to march to attack the royalists at Carora, which place they had taken possession of the day before. To fill the measure of their difficulties, there was a serious deficit in the public treasury, and the paper currency which congress had been obliged to issue, and which maintained its credit until the earthquake, since that event, had rapidly depreciated, and its circulation could only be kept up by severe penalties.

The congress, sensible that a crisis had occurred which threatened the existence of the republic, prepared to meet it. General Miranda was intrusted with the chief military command, and discretionary power conferred on him, to raise troops, and in all things relating to the defence of the state, to act as he thought best. After adopting the measures the condition of the country demanded, congress adjourned to serve in the army, or to return to the provinces and attempt to arouse the people, dispirited and filled with superstitious fears, to a sense of the danger which threatened them and their country.

At the head of two thousand men, armed with the muskets saved from the ruins, Miranda marched to meet the enemy, who had advanced from Carora after the earthquake, and took possession of Barquisimeto without opposition. Here the royalists received constant re-enforcements, as the inhabitants, wishing to abandon a cause frowned upon by heaven, were eager to ensure their own safety by enrolling themselves among its opposers. Monteverde, who commanded the royalists, moved on to Araure, where a detachment of the republicans was stationed under Col. F. Palaciosojo; but his troops refusing to fight, he was made a prisoner, and the place taken without exertion or sacrifice. Araure is on the confines of those vast plains, which form a considerable part of the provinces of Caraccas and Barinas, from which the cattle are obtained that supply the settlements in the mountainous parts of Venezuela, on which account it became an important object to possess it. For this purpose Monteverde sent a detachment of his army to invade Barinas, and with his main force marched to attack San Carlos. The place was defended by M. Carrabano, who made a vigorous defence; but the defection

of his cavalry, who went over to the royalists, decided the fate of the town. There was no force now opposed to Monteverde that could check his progress; and the army on the Orinoco was at so great a distance that it could not re-enforce General Miranda.

The difficulties with which the patriots had to contend in defending the republic, were greatly increased by the scattered population, the distance between the capitals of the different provinces, and the badness of the roads. The republican troops on the Orinoco sustained some loss on the 25th of March in crossing the river; but still might have taken Angostura, had not the earthquake, together with the intelligence of the rapid successes of Monteverde, disheartened them, which led to disaffection, and, finally, desertion.

Monteverde advanced rapidly towards Caraccas with an army flushed with victory and impelled by enthusiasm, being told that they were only instruments in the hands of heaven in putting an end to a revolution, which God and the church had so emphatically condemned. To oppose his advance, Miranda ordered the evacuation of Valencia, and concentrated his forces in the pass, or defile, called La Cabrera, near the lakes Tacarigua, through which the high road led. This was, undoubtedly, the best position to oppose an army invading Caraccas, on the western side; but the inhabitants of that district, ready to abandon the new government, in the hour of adversity, declared for the royal cause; and to recommend themselves to Monteverde, acquainted him with an obscure and unknown foot path, which avoided the defile of La Cabrera. Monteverde, with much difficulty, led his men in this route, which compelled Miranda to retreat to the town of Victoria, fifty miles from Caraccas. The royalists followed closely in the rear of the republican army, and attacked it the last of June with great spirit, but were received with steadiness, and repulsed with loss. At this time, when Miranda's decisive and judicious conduct was giving discipline and confidence to the army, reviving the hopes of the people, and rousing them to exertions worthy of the occasion, a disastrous event occurred, which disconcerted all his plans, and served to extinguish the flickering blaze of the lamp of liberty. The Spanish prisoners at Puerto Cabello, by the treachery of an officer on guard, obtained possession of the castle and fort in which they were confined. Simon Bolivar, then a colonel in the service of the republic, who had the command of the place, deemed it impossible to retake the fort by storm, without destroying the town; unwilling to do that, he embarked

with his officers for La Guayra. The fall of Puerto Cabello, into the hands of the royalists, supplied them with ammunition, of which they were in great want, and opened to them a communication by sea with Coro and Puerto Rico, whereby they could supply their army, which they had before been compelled to do, over land, for more than four hundred and fifty miles. The intelligence of the fall of Puerto Cabello reached Caraccas, and the army, on the 5th of July, when engaged in celebrating the anniversary of their independence; and greatly discouraged the people and dispirited the troops. The alarming aspect of affairs, and the general consternation which prevailed, occasioned disaffection among the people, and desertion among the troops; and the forces of Miranda, being greatly inferior to those of Monteverde, and lessening daily by desertion, whilst the royalists were increasing, he dared not hazard an engagement; and sensible that Caraccas could not long hold out, as the country which supplied it with cattle was in the possession of the enemy, provided it could withstand a storm, which, however, would probably have destroyed what the earthquake had spared. The Spaniards in the city, too, were prepared to revolt; and it had been necessary to arrest and confine them, as the only means of preventing it. Under these appalling circumstances and accumulated difficulties, Miranda and the executive power thought it adviseable to propose a capitulation. The offer was accepted by Monteverde, and the following terms agreed upon between him and the commissioners of Miranda, which were signed and ratified:

"1st. That the constitution offered by the Cortes to the Spanish nation was to be established in Caraccas.

"2dly. That no one was to suffer for former opinions.

"3dly. That all private property was to be held sacred.

"4thly. That emigration was to be permitted to those who wished to quit Venezuela."

Thus Caraccas and the republican army fell into the hands of the royalists; and with them fell the republic of Venezuela. Happily, however, it did not fall, "never to rise again," for from its ashes has sprung up a republic, which has not only been able to defend itself, but to become the liberator of its brethren in other parts of Spanish America; and whose foundations, we hope, may prove as firm and durable, and its sentiments of liberty as lofty and exalted, as its own Andes.

To give a finishing stroke to the republic, its army sent against Guiana was defeated; and the Spanish government once more resumed its authority over Venezuela. But their

power being re-established, the articles of the capitulation were forgotten; it did not comport with the dignity or honour of the Spanish government to keep their plighted faith with rebels; the capitulation was violated in the most shameful manner, and the patriots were as much exposed to the vengeance of the royalists, as they could have been, if there had been no guarantee of their safety. Miranda and many others proceeded to La Guayra, where they intended to embark for Carthagena; but Don M. Casas, military commandant of La Guayra, caused them to be arrested, thinking, by such base conduct, to gain favour with the conqueror. Miranda, and nearly one thousand patriots, were thrown into the dungeons of La Guayra and Puerto Cabello. Many were sent to Puerto Rico, and a number to Cadiz, who were condemned by the Cortes, without trial, to an unlimited imprisonment. Some of those sent to Spain were Spaniards by birth, but had been in the service of the republic; the greater number, however, were South Americans; the latter were released by the remonstrances of the British government, in 1816, but the Spaniards were condemned to linger out a miserable existence in the dungeons of Ceuta.

Monteverde now had the power of restoring peace to a distracted country, which, after two years of civil war, panted for repose. But instead of being a minister of peace, or attempting to sooth the irritations, and heal the wounds of the revolution, his heart was filled with vengeance. The inhabitants of Venezuela, being the first who shook off the Spanish yoke, and gave the first impulse to the revolution, it seems to have been deemed expedient to make an example of them, and by the severity of their punishment, to fill the insurgents in other parts of Spanish America with consternation, and thus check the revolution. But whether it was from any calculations of this kind, or merely from a spirit of vengeance, the whole population of Venezuela was proscribed, and Caraccas converted into one great prison. Every royalist became a public accuser; and to have supported the late government, even after it was established, was a crime in the eyes of a tyrant, which could only be expiated with blood. When all the dungeons were filled, the buildings which would admit of it, were converted into prisons; and it was said, with appearance of truth, that nearly the whole population was under confinement. These severe measures, in direct and open violation of the national faith, were not only justified by the government of Spain, but the minister of war in a report to the Cortes on the

colonies, in October, 1813, complained "of the indulgence that had been shown to the insurgents of Caraccas."

But this cruel and oppressive conduct of the royalists was not more unjustifiable than it was impolitic; had a mild and conciliatory course been pursued, it might have allayed, at least for some time, the revolutionary spirit; but oppression served to enkindle its latent sparks, and blow them once more into a flame. This broke out first in the province of Cumana, which had suffered least in the late disasters, and consequently was less weakened in its means of resistance. Don. N. Marino, young, active, and brave, raised the standard of revolt, and collected a force with which he surprised and took the town of Maturin; here he was attacked by the Spaniards, and repulsed them; a second attack was made by Monteverde in person, and the royalists were again defeated.

But the revival of the revolution in Venezuela, is principally to be credited to the same individual who sustained and carried it through a long and sanguinary contest, and finally brought it to a glorious conclusion; securing for his country, independence and liberty, and for himself, the illustrious and well-earned title of *The Liberator*. As the history of the revolution in Venezuela and New Grenada, from this period, is in a great measure identified with that of the life and services of Don Simon Bolivar, it may be proper to introduce him more particularly, and to shew what part he had acted previous to this period. Bolivar is a native of Caraccas, and belonged to one of the most respectable and wealthy families of that city; in his youth, he went to Spain to complete his education, and there obtained permission to travel into France, England, and Italy. His liberal education, improved by travel, and an acquaintance with many of the enlightened men in Europe, early imbued his mind with liberal sentiments; and having witnessed the condition and character of an independent, if not a free people, he was deeply affected with the degradation and oppression of his native country. At Paris he attended on all public lectures, and attracted notice by his talents and learning; here he contracted an intimacy with Baron Humboldt and Bonpland, the celebrated South American travellers; in company with whom, he visited England, Italy, Switzerland, and a considerable part of Germany, and made himself acquainted with the political condition, the character and habits of the people in these different countries. He had a fair opportunity of discovering the wonder-working influence of political and religious institutions on the human race; that the social character of man was formed by them, and that

they were the sources of the power and prosperity of nations, as well as of their degradation, impoverishment, and oppression.

He discovered that *liberty* was the natural element of man, where alone his faculties attained their just growth and full developement, and which gave to him his proper rank and dignity in creation. As his soul warmed with the love of liberty, he more deeply lamented the enslaved and degraded condition of his own country. With these sentiments he returned to Venezuela, just at the breaking out of the revolution. He inherited more than one thousand slaves, which he emancipated, and embarked his whole property, a princely income, in the revolutionary cause. He was solicited by the junta of Caraccas to go on an embassy to England, in conjunction with Don L. Lopez Mendez, which he declined. Disapproving of the policy pursued by the congress, he remained in retirement at Caraccas, until after the earthquake, when the storm, which was gathering over his country, called him forth in her defence. He was appointed a colonel, and intrusted, by Miranda, with the important command of Puerto Cabello, which place, as has been stated, he was unfortunately obliged to abandon to the royalists. He disapproved of the capitulation of Miranda, and after Monteverde entered Caraccas, obtained from him as a special favour, a passport to embark for Curracoa; from whence he sailed to Carthagena, where he obtained from the junta, or government of the province, the command of a small body of troops, with which he freed the banks of the river Magdalena, from the power of the royalists, in the latter part of 1812. Satisfied that the Venezuelans were disposed, once more, to throw off the Spanish yoke, now more intolerable than before the revolution, he sent Colonel Rivas, his second in command, to Tunja, to solicit of the congress of New Grenada, then in session at that place, a re-enforcement of troops, to enable him to invade Venezuela. In the mean time, he advanced with his troops on the road to Ocana. The congress, approving of the plan, and thinking that they could not better promote the security of New Grenada, than by affording employment for the royalists in Venezuela, they supplied Bolivar with six hundred men.

Thus re-enforced, he crossed the Andes with his little army, and approached the river Tachira, which is the boundary between New Grenada and Venezuela. He surprised the royalists at Cucuta, and dispersed them; and from thence despatched Colonel Nicolas Briceno, with several other officers, to Guadualito, to raise troops. Briceno, having raised a

squadron of cavalry, invaded the province of Barinas; and in the mean time, Bolivar himself defeated the royalists at La Grita, and occupied the department of Merida. Briceno, after several successful engagements, was at length defeated; and himself and seven of his officers fell into the hands of the royalists, all of whom, Tiscar, the royal governor of Barinas, soon after executed, together with eight of the most respectable inhabitants of the town of Barinas, on the pretence that they were endeavouring to aid the enterprize of Briceno. Bolivar, who had hitherto treated the Spaniards that had fallen into his power, as prisoners of war, and with humanity, exasperated at such cruel and savage conduct, and believing that the war could not be conducted on such unequal principles, as that the captured, on one side, should enjoy the rights of prisoners of war, whilst those on the other were put to death like ferocious beasts, resolved on retaliation, and declared that, henceforth, the prisoners which he made, should be treated in the same manner as the royalists treated their prisoners. The contest, from this period, was called, and appropriately, *the war of death—la guerra a muerte.*

The cruelties and oppressions of the royalists, had so exasperated the people, that they rallied round Bolivar, as their deliverer, and his forces increased daily. This induced him to divide them into two corps, one of which he placed under Colonel Rivas, and both were destined against the province of Caraccas. In passing through the province of Barinas and the department of Truxillo, the royalists were engaged and defeated at Niquitao, Betijoque, Carache, Barquisimeto, Barinas and Lostaguanes. The last action in which Monteverde had collected his best troops, was decided by the desertion of his cavalry, who went over to Bolivar. With the remnant of his forces, Monteverde retreated to Puerto Cabello. Bolivar now advanced rapidly on Caraccas, and the royal governor, alarmed for its security, called a council, composed of the officers of the garrison, the members of the audiencia, and the clergy, which agreed to propose terms of capitulation. The commissioners from the governor, met Bolivar at Victoria, and although confident of entering the city, as it had no adequate force for its defence, he did not hesitate to accept, the proposed terms. To prevent alarm, he declared that no person should suffer on account of his former attachment to the Spanish government, and that all who wished to emigrate, would be permitted to leave Venezuela, with their property. Fierro, the governor of Caraccas, embarked, carrying off all the public and private property he could collect, and leaving at the mercy of the conqueror, nearly fifteen hundred Span-

iards who had no means of escaping. The treaty of capitulation, notwithstanding this violation of it by the governor, was sent to Monteverde, at Puerto Cabello, who declined ratifying it, for the wise reason, "that it was derogatory to the dignity of the Spanish nation to treat with insurgents."

Bolivar made a public entry into the capital, on the 4th of August, 1813; and the first meeting of his troops and the inhabitants was affecting and impressive in the extreme; they embraced each other as friends and brethren, who had long been parted, and who had toiled, suffered and bled in the same cause. The dungeons and prisons were thrown open, and those victims of royal cruelty, whom a year's confinement had not relieved by death, were restored to their liberty, their friends, and their country. And not only the prisoners, but their fellow citizens, with hearts overflowing with joy, greeted Bolivar and his companions in arms, as their deliverers, and the liberators of their country. But universal as was the joy, gratitude and exultation of the inhabitants of Caraccas, they did not reproach or insult the Spaniards.

Venezuela was again rescued from the dominion of tyrants; the eastern part having been freed by Marino, and the rest delivered from their power by Bolivar, who justly obtained the title of *El Libertador de Venezuela*,—the Liberator of Venezuela. The town of Puerto Cabello alone was in possession of the royalists. Bolivar immediately sent a flag of truce, proposing to Monteverde, an exchange of prisoners, and although the Spanish prisoners in his possession were much the most numerous, he proposed to release them all, if the Spanish commander would liberate the prisoners he had at Puerto Cabello. But having received during the negotiation, twelve hundred troops from Spain, Monteverde obstinately refused any exchange. He now felt able to act on the offensive, and attack the patriots at Aguacaiente, but suffered a dreadful defeat, nearly his whole force being either killed or made prisoners, and Monteverde himself seriously wounded; in consequence of which Saloman took the command of the remnant of the royalists which escaped to Puerto Cabello.

Bolivar renewed the same offer of an exchange of prisoners, to Saloman, by whom it was not only refused, but the bearer of the flag of truce, was seized, loaded with fetters, and thrown into prison at Puerto Cabello. And Istueta, the successor of Saloman, committed the savage outrage, of placing the patriot prisoners along his line, exposed to the batteries of their countrymen, to prevent their firing; and at night they were thrown into prison, where nearly fifty died at one time, by suffocation. This led to retaliation, and the besieg-

ers exposed the Spanish prisoners before their line of battle; which occasioned a greater outrage still on the part of the Spanish general. He ordered four of the most distinguished patriots in his possession, to be placed in front of the encampment of their countrymen, and in their view publicly to be shot. These were Pellin, Osorio, Pointet, and Manuel Pulido, all distinguished for their patriotic zeal, and highly esteemed and admired by their fellow citizens.* No further attempt at an exchange of prisoners, or communication took place between the belligerent parties, but the contest became an exterminating war, and was carried on with destructive fury on both sides. Bolivar prosecuted the siege of Puerto Cabello, the place being invested by sea and land; the town fell into the hands of the besiegers, except that part commanded by the fortress, which alone remained as a refuge to the royalists. But although the garrison wanted provisions, and were wasting by disease occasioned by the damp soil, the Spanish commandant refused to listen to terms of capitulation. A haughtiness of temper, a proud and unyielding spirit, which no difficulties can subdue, and an obstinate perseverance, are the primary characteristics of the Spanish character. Puerto Cabello continued to hold out, and the position of the fortress is so advantageous, and the garrison, well supplied with ammunition, were so active and determined in its defence, that it could not be taken by storm without a sacrifice of lives, which Bolivar was unwilling to make.

The royalists of Coro, being re-enforced with troops from Puerto-Rico, marched into the territory of Caraccas, and on the 10th of November, 1813, defeated a party of the Independents at Barquisimeto. Bolivar marched to repel them; he engaged and routed them at Vigirima, Barbula, and Araure. In the action of Barbula the patriots lost young Girardot who had been distinguished for his active intrepidity, in numerous battles, both in Venezuela and New Grenada. The Liberator ordered an annual mourning for this national calamity, and assigned a pension to the family of Girardot, for ever.

Bolivar had invaded Venezuela under the auspices of the confederacy of New Grenada, and had been directed, on his liberating the country, to restore the republican government, which, from the unsettled state of affairs he did not consider adviseable to do. Since the capitulation of Caraccas, the country had been under a military government; and although this power, odious in its mildest form, was not abused by the

*General Bolivar's Letter, published in Walton's Expose.

deliverer of the country, his inferior officers, not under his immediate control, were in some instances guilty of arbitrary and oppressive conduct, which occasioned complaints against the military government, and Bolivar himself. This gave him uneasiness, as he could not, from the commencement of his career, endure, even that he should be suspected of entertaining ambitious projects, or any designs except the liberation of his country. He summoned a general convention, consisting of the magistrates, the higher ecclesiastics, the members of the municipality, colleges, the board of trade, and all the proprietors of lands, to resign his authority into their hands, and leave them to establish such provisional government as they might deem expedient. This assembly convened on the 2d of January, 1814; and Bolivar appeared before them; after explaining his views and intentions in invading Venezuela, he resigned his authority; and retiring, desired the assembly to provide such authorities as in their opinion, the safety of the country required. Mendoza, the governor of Caraccas, Rodriguez, president of the municipality, and Alzuru, successively addressed the assembly, and urged the expediency, under the existing aspect of affairs, of suffering the supreme power to remain in the hands of the Liberator, and proposed to revest it in him, as dictator, until a representative government could be established, either for Venezuela alone, or in conjunction with New Grenada. This proposal was approved of, and the supreme power vested in the Liberator.

The royal chiefs were filled with rage at the success of Bolivar, and were determined, that, if they could not reconquer Venezuela, they would destroy it, and render it a useless acquisition to the victorious patriots. Not satiated with the blood and devastation of a civil war, they wished to light up the torches of a servile one, and to arm the slaves against their masters. For this purpose emissaries were sent into the interior of the country, to incite the revolt of the slaves, and organize a servile force. The most obnoxious of these, were Boves, Yanez, Rosette, and Puy, Spaniards; and Palomo, a negro, who had been outlawed as a robber and an assassin. The governor of Spanish Guiana supplied Boves and Rosette with arms and ammunition, who were to operate in the eastern part of the province of Caraccas; and Puy and Palomo, had assigned to them, as their theatre of action, the western part of the province of Caraccas, Barinas, Merida, and Truxillo, and were assisted by the royalists of Puerto Cabello, Coro, and Maracaibo. There were 70,000 slaves in Venezuela,

who roused, not only by the prospect of obtaining their liberty, but by the promise of the wealth and fortunes of their masters, and of all the disloyal part of the population of the country, afforded materials for raising an army, alarming from its number, and its turbulent character;—an army every way worthy of its leaders, and of the cause in which it was to be employed. With this incendiary force, Puy and Palomo, subjugated Barinas, Guiana, and several other towns, covering the country with blood and desolation. Boves and Rosette, marched from the banks of the Orinoco to the valleys of Tuy and Aragua, spreading desolation before them, and tracing their paths in blood, which, if collected into one channel, the 'purple current,' would have tinged the mighty waters of the Orinoco. It is almost incredible, yet what was well established at the time, not only by the newspapers of Venezuela, and the adjacent islands; but by private letters from unquestionable sources, that in an extent of country of four hundred miles from the Orinoco, to the environs of Caraccas, forming the limits of this murderous campaign, not a human being was spared, who did not join the robbers. By such exterminatory and murderous warfare, they spread terror over the country, which served to increase their numbers to 8,000 men. Of this entire army, there were only fifty Spaniards and creoles, the rest, with the exception of a few free mulattoes, were slaves. Animated by the hopes of plunder, and some of them, stimulated by revenge, their turbulent fury overcame every thing which opposed them; and, like the northern barbarians which overran Europe, or the hordes of Gengis-Kan in the east, they spread terror before them, and left ruin and desolation behind. Boves took possession of Victoria, only forty miles from Caraccas; and Rosette entered Ocumare, thirty miles from the capital, while Puy and Yanez, having subdued Barinas, advanced to join Boves, in February, 1814. Encouraged by these successes, the Spanish prisoners at Caraccas, and LaGuayra, amounting to nearly 1400, entered into a conspiracy against the government, and were prepared to revolt. Many Spaniards united into a body, and stationed themselves in the road between Caraccas and LaGuayra, for the purpose of murdering travellers, and to cut off the communication. The situation of Caraccas was critical, and its danger imminent; it required uncommon exertions to prevent its falling into the hands of an enemy, whose mercies were like those the tiger shows to its prey. The number of the forces of Bolivar were greatly inferior to those of the enemy, and were scattered over the country. If the garrisons of

Caracas and LaGuayra were called into the field, there would have been the greatest danger of the rising of the Spanish prisoners in the city, who were rendered perfectly desperate from the determination of the Spanish chiefs, to admit of no exchange with the insurgents. Under these alarming circumstances, which threatened Caraccas with the greatest of all evils, that of falling into the hands of the slaves, harrassed with cares, and his mind oppressed with anxiety, and the responsibility of his situation, and at the same time, highly exasperated at the outrages of a servile and ferocious enemy, and the recent massacres at Ocumare, Bolivar, from the distraction of the moment, not knowing what to do, or which way to turn his attention, was hurried into an act, which, however it might be justified by the *lex tulionis*—the principle of retaliation, is shocking to contemplate, and was as impolitic as it was unjust. He gave orders to execute the prisoners, and eight hundred Spaniards were put to death on this dreadful occasion. The commandant at Puerto Cabello, the moment he heard of these executions, ordered every American prisoner at that place, amounting to several hundred, to be shot.

The danger from the slaves being removed, Bolivar marched against the enemy, and obtained a signal victory over Boves at Victoria; and Col. Rivas defeated Rosette on the banks of the Tuy, and about the same time, the forces of Yanez, were also defeated, and their leader killed at Ospinos. These victories were not won without severe fighting and a heavy loss, the patriots being greatly inferior in number to the enemy.—They cost them one third of their troops; and the advantages derived from them were not great, as from the want of cavalry the republicans had not been able to pursue the enemy but a few miles. Los Llanos on which Caraccas is dependent for horses, being in possession of the enemy, Bolivar's cavalry was but poorly furnished.

Boves and Rosette, having received some re-enforcements, again took the road leading to Caraccas. Perceiving the storm gathering over Caraccas, General Marino, marched from Cumana to the assistance of Bolivar, and having joined a body of troops under general Montilla, their united forces attacked and defeated the royalists at Bocachica, and about the same time, Bolivar himself obtained a decisive victory at San Mateo. These two victories relieved Valencia, which had been besieged by the royalists under Cevallos and Calzadas. In the action of San Mateo, an act of heroism and self devotion happened, alike evincive of the patriotism which an-

imated the Americans, and of the dreadful fury with which the contest was carried on.*

These losses of the royalists compelled Boves to retire to Los Llanos, and Cevallos to San Carlos, whither the latter was pursued by general Marino; but the republican general being defeated on the 16th of April, retreated to Valencia.—Monteverde was succeeded as captain general of Venezuela by Cagigal, who brought re-enforcements from Coro, and uniting them with the troops of Ceyallos and Calzadas, marched towards Valencia. After some delay and reconnoitring on both sides, the two armies engaged the 28th of May, 1814, on the plains of Carabobo. The action was the most bloody that had been fought; royal rage and popular fury were brought into the conflict; the greatest efforts were made on both sides, and instances of valour exhibited, approaching to desperation: victory was long doubtful, but at length fortune once more declared in favour of the patriots. The royalists were compelled to leave the field covered with their dead and wounded. Their whole loss including prisoners, was five hundred men, and a large amount of arms and ammunition.

The royalists retired to Coro and Los Llanos, whither Bolivar pursued them, with the intention of driving them from these territories, from whence they drew all their resources. He sent Urdaneta with five hundred men against Coro, and Marino with about the same number to San Fernando, on the river Apure, in the province of Barinas. The remaining division of his army, of about the same strength, Bolivar retained under his immediate command; and which he deemed sufficient to oppose Boves, who not having been in the battle

* The history of the revolution of Spanish America cannot fail to be read with interest, for it must record very many facts of heroic courage, as well as numberless proofs of the universal spirit of patriotism that prevails among the South Americans, notwithstanding their civil dissentions. An officer, whose family was among the most distinguished at Santa Fe de Bogota, was appointed to guard a powder magazine, when San Mateo was attacked, the 25th of March, 1814. The royalists thought to take it by surprise while the armies were fighting at some distance, and sent, for this purpose, a strong detachment of troops to attack the magazine. The young Ricaute having observed the movements of the enemy, saw the impossibility of resistance, and gave orders to his soldiers to join the army, asserting that he was sufficient alone for the defence of the magazine. The Spaniards surrounded it, and took possession of the building, and having discovered Ricaute, were just seizing him, when he set fire to the powder. The magazine was destroyed by an instantaneous explosion, and he fell a victim to that inevitable death he had foreseen.—*Outline of the Revolution in S. America.*

of Carabobo, was marching against him with a numerous squadron of cavalry. This dividing of his army by Bolivar was an error which led to the most serious consequences. Fatal mistakes are often committed by military commanders, in not estimating correctly the ability or power of an adversary; it was this that occasioned the mistake of Bolivar, and also just before, a similar one on the part of the royalists. Had the latter waited for the arrival of Boves, they probably would not have been defeated on the plains of Carabobo, and had not Bolivar, despising the force of Boves, divided his army, he would not have been defeated by him on the plains of La Puerta. In a few days, the three divisions of the republican army, were separated many miles, when Boves attacked Bolivar at La Puerta, a plain near the town of Cura, and about one hundred and fifty miles from Caraccas. The conflict was sharp, and maintained with great fury for several hours, but at length the patriots were compelled to give way, and leave the field to Boves.—About the same time general Marino was attacked and repulsed by the united forces of Cagigal and Calzadas, and his communication with Caraccas cut off, which obliged him to retire to Cumana for safety. When General Urdaneta heard of these disasters, he was at too great a distance to be able to afford any assistance to Caraccas, and therefore withdrew to Cucuta, on the frontiers of New Grenada.

The possession of Venezuela was again lost by the patriots, after their dominion over it had been apparantly well established. Their reverses were great and sudden; their affairs were prosperous the first of June, and in one month they had become perfectly desperate. They had no army for the protection of Caraccas; they were obliged to raise the siege of Puerto Cabello, the troops embarking for Cumana; and to complete their ruin, in Venezuela, much dissatisfaction prevailed with Bolivar's military government, occasioned by the conduct of some of his generals, and the people of Los Llanos declared for the royalists. Bolivar marched with the remnant of his force to Cumana, and almost the whole population of Caraccas repaired there; such was their dread of falling into the hands of an exasperated and barbarous enemy. Boves took possession of Caraccas and La Guayra, in July, 1814; Valencia was besieged, and held out until resistance became of no further use, when it accepted terms of capitulation. But from the many flagrant breaches of faith by the royalists, the patriots would not surrender the place unless the Spanish general, in presence of the two armies, and after

the solemn celebration of mass, would bind himself by an oath, taken before the host, religiously to fulfil the terms of the treaty. The oath was taken, and the town delivered up; but soon after, the royalists believing that "oaths were but words, and words but wind," ordered the republican officers, and most of the soldiers, to be shot. Among those who fell, was the learned and eloquent Espejo, as a civilian one of the ablest defenders and the brightest ornaments of the republican cause.

Boves pursued the patriots into the province of Barcelona, and defeated them in Araguita; success no longer followed the banners of the patriots; the good fortune of Bolivar seemed to have forsaken him, and with the loss of his power was lost the respect for his authority. The commandant of his flotilla on the coast refused to obey his orders. The sun of Venezuelan independence had once more set, and darkness and despotism overspread the land where liberty had first dawned. With the patriots, who had survived these dreadful reverses, all was lost except hope, and the honour of their services to redeem their country. But the invincible mind of Bolivar was not to be subdued by misfortunes, however tremendous, nor shaken from its purposes, by the most overwhelming reverses. Sensible that nothing more could now be done, for the cause of independence in Venezuela, he embarked for Carthagena with some of the boldest of his officers, who preferred to follow his fortunes, even in this night of adversity. Rivas and Bermudas, with the remnant of troops, separated from him, and marched to Maturin, already rendered celebrated as the cradle of the last revolution, it being there General Marino first raised the republican standard. Maturin became the rendezvous of the desperate patriots, who had no quarters to expect from the royalists; and in a few days a considerable number were assembled here from different quarters. This "forlorn hope" was successively attacked by Morales and Boves, both of whom were repulsed with serious loss. Rivas and Bermudas, who led the little remnant of patriots, maintained themselves for a considerable time; but after obtaining many advantages over the royalists, they were at last compelled to yield to a destiny, which the vast superiority of their enemies rendered inevitable.—They were entirely defeated at Urica, on the 5th of December, 1814, and soon after Maturin fell into the hands of the royalists; an acquisition, however, attended with the loss of their favorite Boves. Bermudas escaped with some of the troops, and embarked for the island of Margarita, where he maintained the

cause of the revolution until the arrival of the expedition from Spain, under Morillo, 1815. The intrepid Rivas was taken prisoner, shot, and his head sent to Caraccas for public exhibition, to convince the inhabitants of that rebellious city, that such was the fate which awaited all traitors.

Bolivar proceeded from Carthagena to Tunja, where the congress of the confederate provinces of New Grenada was in session, and offered his services to the confederacy, which were accepted.

CHAPTER V.

Effect of the restoration of Ferdinand on the revolution—his impolitic measures respecting America—dissentions among the patriots—Bolivar sent against Santa Fe de Bogota—it capitulates—Cundinamarca joins the confederacy—regulations of the congress—Bolivar proceeds against the royalists in Santa Martha—dispute between him and Castillo—he lays siege to Carthagena—arrival of the expedition from Cadiz—Morillo reduces the island of Margaritta—he lays siege to Carthagena—it capitulates—republican standard again raised in Margaritta—Bolivar fits out an expedition at Aux Cayes—invades Venezuela—is defeated—returns to Aux Cayes—Morillo conquers New Grenada—enters Bogota—massacre of the patriots—war in Venezuela—Bolivar takes Angostura—Morillo's unsuccessful attack on Margaritta.

We have now arrived to a period, which forms an important epoch in the revolution. The overthrow of the mighty fabric of the power of Napoleon, and his abdication, in April, 1814, was an event, not less unexpected and astonishing, than important in its influence on the destinies of Europe. The restoration of Ferdinand the Seventh, to the throne of Spain, with all the absolute powers of the monarchy, was a necessary and immediate consequence. The establishment of popular governments in America, was occasioned by the usurpations of Bonaparte, and their object, at first, at least the ostensible one, to resist his designs against Spain; and maintain the rights of their legitimate sovereign ; so that at an early period the intelligence now received from Europe would have filled the colonies with joy. But so great was the revolution in the feelings and opinions of the people, which a contest of more than four years, carried on with the greatest animosity and cruelty had produced, that an event which, but a short time before, might have given rise to universal rejoicing in America, occasioned at first, anxiety and alarm, and was soon regarded as the harbinger of the most dreadful calamities.

The news of the defeat of Narino, and the retreat of the remnant of the army of the confederacy to Popayan ; of the total overthrow of the republican cause in Venezuela, and the

important intelligence from Europe, of the fall of Napoleon, and the restoration of Ferdinand were received by the congress of New Grenada about the same time. The defeat of their army, and the complete triumph of the royalists in Venezuela, was each a serious calamity; but the intelligence from Europe was of a more important character. It entirely changed the general aspect of things, and in some measure the character of the revolution. The resistance in America commenced against the authority of the regency of Spain, and in most of the provinces, the supremacy of Ferdinand was expressly acknowledged. Ferdinand was now on the throne, and if resistance was continued, it must be against the power of the legitimate sovereign of Spain. The restoration of the king, therefore, changed the relations between the colonies and the parent country, as well as placed the latter in a condition to direct all its strength against the rebellious Americans, being relieved from the war at home, and having no longer any employment for her armies in the peninsula. At an earlier period of the contest, the restoration of Ferdinand would have greatly damped, if not effectually checked the spirit of the revolution; but after the struggle had continued nearly five years, and the minds of the Americans became exasperated by the cruelties and massacres of the Spanish colonial rulers, it was calculated to have but comparatively little influence. Had Ferdinand, however, acted wisely or prudently, and pursued a conciliatory line of conduct towards America; had he condemned the rashness of the colonial chiefs, driving the people into resistance; reformed the abuses and removed the oppressions of which the colonies justly complained, probably he might have so far revived the sentiments of loyalty, as to have checked, if not to have extinguished the flame of the revolution. But instead of this course, the first official intelligence the Americans had, of his being reinstated on his thone, was a decree, treating them as rebels, and *commanding them to lay down their arms.* This was sufficient to satisfy the Americans, that they had no more justice to expect from Ferdinand, than from the regency; that no attention, whatever, was to be paid to their complaints, no respect shewn to their rights. This decree, dated the 4th of June, 1814, was soon followed by another, directing the equipment of a formidable armament at Cadiz, to reduce the disloyal Americans to unconditional submission. At the same time, the most rigorous measures were adopted at home, by a bigoted and absolute king, against the members of the Cortes and other patriots, who had made such noble exertions, such pat-

riotic sacrifices, for the defence of his throne. When such base ingratitude and injustice were experienced by the patriots of Spain, what treatment had the insurgents of America to expect from an infatuated monarch, a capricious tyrant? As the rupture between the Spanish patriots and America was hurried on by the regency's declaring war against the Americans, so the contest as between Ferdinand himself, and the colonies, was placed on a footing almost incompatible with accommodation, by the same rash measures on the part of Ferdinand.

Desperate and almost hopeless as the cause of the independence was rendered, by this intelligence from Europe, and the serious reverses which the patriots had suffered, the congress of New Grenada, was not disheartened by these appalling circumstances, but viewing the approaching crisis, in its true light, prepared to meet it.—The 1st of September, congress published a proclamation, which, after detailing the events of the war, and the sad reverses their arms had sustained, concludes in the following language:

"Such is the situation of the military affairs of New Grenada. Every step the republicans make costs a bloody battle in the provinces of Venezuela, where hordes of assassins are formed by the agents of the king to check the progress of the friends of liberty. Our frontiers are constantly molested by the royalists of Maracaibo, and those who now possess Barinas; both of whom keep always in alarm the defenders of Pamplona and Cassanare. The inhabitants of Santa Martha obstinately refuse to co-operate with us. Carthagena wants assistance from the general government, which is at the same time obliged to provide for the defence of Popayan, which is again threatened with invasion; and this of course increases the difficulties we should have in rescuing the unfortunate Quito from the power of her oppressors. These are the objects which imperiously call for the attention of the confederate provinces. Useless shall be the declaration of our independence, if we have not resolution to support it. We possess within ourselves the means of attaining this great object, and no power whatever will be strong enough to conquer us if we avail ourselves of our own strength; our exertion must unquestionably be great, and our sacrifices for the common cause unbounded. But such efforts are worthy of men raised to the dignity of a free people, and are absolutely necessary, since we have nothing to hope, and much to fear from the European nations.

"Whether generosity, or the desire of restoring equilibrium

among the powers of Europe, has induced Great Britain to make such constant and strong opposition against Bonaparte, and to support the cause of Spain, is yet with us an unsolved problem. Notwithstanding the cessions at Bayonne, and the torrents of blood that the French have shed by the war in the peninsula, Ferdinand has been restored to Spain; and the country, now freed from the French, will have both the power and the will to send a formidable army again to subdue us."

"Ye people of New Grenada! contemplate your fate, and that of your posterity; you may easily judge of it; and let your resolution be formed accordingly, and nobly. Again, we repeat, your destiny depends on your own exertions."

"While Spain exults in having opposed Bonaparte's tyranny, ought we not to aim at having similar cause for exultation, by opposing the power they wish unduly to exercise over us?—Can time justify usurpation? The cessions of the princes of Mexico, Cuzco, and Bogota, in the early [illegible] of the Spanish invasion of America, were not less effected by violence than the abdications of Bayonne; nor [illegible] the cruelties the Spaniards committed in America less [illegible] than the atrocities the French army is accused of in the Spanish war. It is neither Ferdinand nor the Bourbons who alone aim at our property and lives; it is the Spanish nation—that very nation which has lately displayed such strong features of cruelty in their conduct towards us. If we have the misfortune of falling again under the same power, every Spaniard will triumphantly insult us in our streets. The blessing of air, which is free to all, even to the brute creation—and again, those domestic enjoyments which man by right and nature possesses, by inclination clings to, we shall have to implore as boons from our tyrants. The produce even of our industry will become the property of Spain; and when wearing the fetters of slavery, the sad sound of our chains will disturb the very ashes of our heroes, who have firmly supported and bravely fallen in defence of our liberty and independence. Such is the melancholy, prophetic picture of the fate that awaits us, unless we are conquerors.

"The very name of our country we were not permitted to pronounce before our revolution. To endeavour to possess that country, though our own by every natural right, has already cost us most dear. Yet the helm we should not forsake, for success has often crowned our efforts! The congress has adopted some vigorous measures, and even sent an envoy to implore the protection of the English government—of that government, the protector of the liberties of Europe, and

which has more than once invited us to shake off the Spanish yoke.

"The congress relies on the exertions of the provinces and on their indissoluble union."

Alarming however as the crisis was, it was not capable of producing union among the republicans, or of extinguishing those feuds which had been equally detrimental and disgraceful to their cause. That men engaged in the same cause, and exposed to the same dangers, should waste their strength *in* their own dissentions, at the very time that the common enemy was at the gates of their capitals, and threatening them with one common ruin, evinces the inveteracy of their animosities, and the prevalence of a factious spirit. Such conduct was scarcely less absurd than that of the two owners of a building, who were disputing about the extent of their respective rights to the property, whilst it was in flames, instead of uniting their exertions to save it from the conflagration.—Don Bernardo Alvarez, president of Cundinamarca, persisted in refusing to join that province to the confederacy, which it was evident would greatly strengthen the hands of the government, and give energy to the measures that congress were pursuing for the safety of the country. At length, however, being satisfied that the people demanded the union, Alvarez deputed Lozano to treat with the congress, and terms of union were agreed upon; but the president objected to a union, and refused to ratify the treaty. He proposed an alliance, which the congress declined to accept. This was the state of things, when Bolivar arrived at Tunja, at the close of the year 1814, and engaged in the service of the congress. The confederacy at this time, consisted of the provinces of Casanare, Pamplona, Tunja, Neyva, Choco, Popayan, Carthagena, Mariquita, Socorro, and Antioquia. The congress resolved to compel by military force, the province of Cundinamarca to acknowledge its power and join the confederacy. They accordingly sent Bolivar in December, 1814, to besiege Santa Fe de Bogota, the capital of the refractory province. His army consisted of that division of the army of Venezuela under general Urdaneta, which, after the defeat of the other two divisions, retreated to Cucuta, and was ordered from thence by the congress to Tunja, with some additional troops. Bolivar stormed the city and obtained possession of its principal suburbs, when Alvarez accepted the terms of capitulation that had been offered, which were that the province should join the confederacy, and enjoy the same privileges as the other confederate states.—The electoral college of Santa Fe was then assembled, which

ratified the capitulation, and invited the congress to adjourn its session to that capital, which it soon after did.

This union greatly strengthened the arm of the federal government, and with the improvements and changes in the system, which had been made a short time before, gave it power and energy. By these changes made in September and October preceding, each province, except Casanare, Neyva, and Choco, which were less populous, sent two deputies to the congress, and those provinces one; the executive power, which had been exercised by the congress, was confided to three persons appointed by that body, and the federal government possessed authority, to carry on the war, and over the finances of the confederated provinces. Don M. R. Torices, Garcia Rubira and M. Pey, all distinguished for their talents and entire devotion to the republican cause, received the executive appointment. The governors of the provinces were chosen by the electors, but acted as delegates or officers of the general government, in all concerns relating to the confederacy.

New Grenada at this time, possessed a prospect of security, stability and prosperity. Although threatened by the royalists of Venezuela, Quito, and Santa Martha, it possessed the means to repel all attacks. The government was respected, and the congress had adopted several wise and popular laws, calculated to relieve the burdens of the people, and promote the general prosperity. The monopolies of tobacco, spiritous liquors, and the tribute paid by the Indians were abolished; foreigners were invited into the country, manufactures of arms established, and liberty of speech and of the press unrestricted. Many of the most intelligent of the clergy embraced the cause, which was generally popular; some patriotic citizens tendered their services to the government, others made contributions of money, and the friars of the order of St. Dominic, set a worthy example of patriotism, by presenting to the national treasury most of the specie, which for years they had been hoarding up in the sanctuary of Chiquinquira. The government extended its patronage to the botanical expedition under the direction of the celebrated Mutis, which made important discoveries. To prevent the intrigues of the Spaniards, they were banished from the territories of the confederacy, until the independence of the country should be effectually secured; but were permitted to remove or dispose of their property.

The army under Cabal in Popayan was re-enforced, and begun to make head against the royalists; General Urdaneta

was sent with re-enforcements into the province of Pamplona, to repel the royalists of Maracaibo, who harrassed the country by their incursions, and, when attacked, retired to their fastnesses in the forests bordering on the river Sulia. But against the royalists of Santa Martha, the principal force of the republic was directed, under Bolivar, who was appointed captain general of the armies of New Grenada and Venezuela. The government and their general in chief, made great exertions to ensure success to this expedition, as the occupation of the province of Santa Martha would have been of great advantage to the patriots, in case the expedition then preparing at Cadiz should be directed against New Grenada. With very great exertions 3,000 men were raised, at the head of which Bolivar marched as far as the town of Mompox, on the river Magdalena. Here he halted, to obtain from the province of Carthagena the additional men and arms, which the congress had ordered as its quota of troops for the expedition. Bolivar applied to the governor of Carthagena for the re-enforcement and supplies which congress had ordered; but Don M. Castillo, military commandant of Carthagena, being a personal enemy of Bolivar, exerted all his influence with the governor, to prevent his complying with the demands of the congress, and unfortuuately was too successful. The pretences he made use of, were, that Bolivar entertained ambitious views, and had injured the cause by his sanguinary career in Venezuela. The remonstrances of Bolivar were unavailing; the governor obstinately refused to comply with the requisitions of congress, and Bolivar, disappointed and chagrined at this unexpected delay, exasperated at the unjustifiable conduct of Castillo and the governor, determined that having exhausted the argument, he would stand by his arms." Bolivar immediately marched against, and laid siege to the town of Carthagena, in hopes to obtain by force, what he had failed to accomplish by peaceable means; and to compel the governor of Carthagena to obey the authority of the congress, as he had before, that of Santa Fe. Carthagena being a strong place, was enabled to defend itself; for which purpose, the troops were collected from other parts of the province, leaving it defenceless, for the purpose of carrying on a civil war. The royalists taking advantage of this, conquered Mompox, and most of the province of Carthagena, with little or no opposition, whilst the republicans were disgracefully weakening and destroying themselves by their own dissentions. This civil war completely frustrated all the judicious measures of the federal government, and threatened the total ruin of the cause of the patriots. It continued to rage

until the expedition from Cadiz, the most formidable ever sent by Spain to America, appeared off the coast of Venezuela.—When intelligence of this reached Carthagena, Bolivar, whose heart was never for a moment estranged from the great cause of independence, however he may have been led to engage in the civil contests, from exasperated feelings, or misguided notions of expediency, would not suffer a contest to be prolonged, which, under existing circumstances must be attended with the most fatal consequences. He proposed to the government of Cartnagena, that he would retire from the province, and leave his army, now considerably reduced by the civil war and disease, to co-operate in the defence of the city, against the expected attack from the expedition from Spain.

This expedition consisted of ten thousand of the chosen and best troops of Spain, conveyed in fifty transport ships, protected by two frigates; the fitting it out had nearly exhausted the national resources. It was commanded by General Morillo, whose memory will be 'damned to everlasting fame.' for his cruelties in Colombia. It appeared before Carupano about the middle of April, 1815, and was justly regarded as the harbinger of scenes of devastation and blood, surpassing what had already been witnessed. It spread universal alarm among the patriots throughout Venezuela and New Grenada. From Carupano, Morillo proceeded against the island of Margaritta, where General Bermudas, with the remnant of his troops, and many of the patriots of Venezuela, had repaired. All the exertions of the patriots were not sufficient to defend the island against the powerful force of Morillo; he, however, lost one of his frigates, the San Pedro Alcantara. The patriots mostly escaped, embarking for Carthagena and the West India islands. From Margaritta, Morillo proceeded to Caraccas. then in possession of the royalists, where, and at other cities on the coast of Venezuela, he left two thousand of his troops; but received, however, in exchange for those left, some troops that were previously stationed at Caraccas. In the month of June, the expedition sailed from Puerto Cabello for the purpose of besieging Carthagena, but did not commence the siege until August.

Carthagena is situated on a bay, three leagues in extent, and is divided into two parts: the city, properly so called, and Gimani, a suburb. The city is surrounded by a thick and high wall, and there is a wall in front of Gimani, which is built in a circular form; and a ditch or channel, fortified by stuccadoes on each side, joins the walls of Gimani with the city. On the east of the city is a fort, which overlooks Gimani; and the bat-

teries on the hill, called Lapopa, about one hundred and fifty yards distant, command the fort, and protect the town and its environs. North of Lapopa is lake Tesca, that communicates with the ditch or channel, which divides the city from Gimani, but the two divisions of the city are connected by a bridge, and communicate with the sea on the north. Morillo fixed his head quarters twelve miles from the city, at a place called Turbaco, and formed his line so as to cut off all communication by land with the town. Colonel Soublet commanded Lapopa, which was attacked by the royalists on the 11th of November, but they were repulsed with considerable loss. They, however, by the erection of batteries, and the introduction of gun boats into the bay, succeeded in cutting off the communication with the sea, by Boca Granda, one of the outlets to the ocean, which deprived the besieged of all means of receiving provisions into the town. The city was twice bombarded; but suffered most from the want of provisions, which, after a siege of nearly four months, compelled the patriots to abandon it to the royalists. A general meeting was held on the 13th of October, which resolved to put the province of Carthagena under the protection of the British government: and Mr. Hislop, an English merchant, was despatched to London for this purpose. But before any answer was received to his despatches, the famine raged to such a degree, that it became necessary to abandon the city. The beginning of December, the deaths amounted to one hundred persons daily. On the 5th of December the place was evacuated. More than two thousand persons left the city, in eleven ships, most of them armed; the armament was attacked by the royalists, who were repulsed; and having taken on board the garrison of Bocachica, it sailed out of the harbour, and left the city to their enemies, which had now become one vast charnel-house. The next day the Spaniards took possession of the city. Most of the patriots proceeded to Aux Cayes.

The following translation from the official letter to his government, of Montalvo, the captain-general, exhibits a picture of horror that almost staggers belief: "The horrible appearance of the city is scarcely to be described: the streets, and even the houses, were heaped up with dead bodies, or with those who were expiring; the atmosphere was in a pestilential state, which nearly stopped respiration; groans and lamentations assailed our ears."

A list of prisoners was delivered by Morillo to Montalvo, with an intimation that they ought to be tried by the permanent council of the army; but the captain-general, by the advice of

his assessor, or lawyer, had them tried by a common council of war, by which they were condemned to death. And notwithstanding that the judges of the court of audience, who were consulted after their condemnation, declared the proceedings illegal, Don M. Castillo, Garcia Toledo, Ayos, M. Granados, M. Amador, M. Portocarrero, M. Anguiano, M. Angulo, and S. Stewart, were executed on the 24th of January, 1816. Montalvo assigns among other reasons, for these executions, that it would have been scandalous to have sent these rebels to Spain, when others less criminal had been executed by Morillo; and declares that these were the first executions he had ordered, and that he was the only one of the Spanish chiefs in America, whose conduct had been so humane. "Unfortunately," he says, "the war now presents so direful an aspect, that it is not easy to foresee its termination. All might have been prevented in the beginning; perhaps then to have punished the heads of the revolution would have been sufficient, and peace might have been restored by a steady conduct, politic measures, and mildness in the chiefs, which always sooner or later produce good effects."

There was about two thousand troops at Carthagena when the place was first besieged, who, with its inhabitants, defended the city; the federal congress of New Grenada was unable to afford them any assistance. Bolivar went to Jamaica to fit out an expedition for the relief of Carthagena; but the town surrendered before he carried his plan into execution, and he again turned his attention to Venezuela. About the same time that the Spaniards took possession of Carthagena, Arismendi again raised the republican standard in the island of Margaritta; and after defeating the garrison Morillo had left, in several actions, took possession of a part of the island. In the mean time, the spirit of the revolution revived in Venezuela, so that those parts of the country which the royalists had reduced, and where they considered all resistance at an end, were again either in the possession of the patriots, or the seats of war. The insolence and arrogance of the royalists at Caraccas, revived the disaffection of the inhabitants, and occasioned many of the provincial troops, who, after the conquest of the province, had consented to fight under the royal standard, to desert, and join themselves to the republican troops, who were dispersed over the country, after the defeat at Urica. These troops served as rallying points for the disloyal from all quarters, in Venezuela.

The guerrilla system of warfare was now adopted, in imitation of the Spaniards in the war with the French. Various

guerrilla parties were formed, at the head of which were Monagas, Piar, Rexas, Zaraza, Llanos, and other intrepid leaders, who occupied the interior of the provinces of Guiana, Cumana, Barcelona, Caracoas and Barinas. More unanimity prevailed among the inhabitants of Venezuela than had at any former period; alarmed at the impending danger, they seemed disposed to forget former differences, and to unite in defence of the independence of their country. The *guerrillas* carried on an active partizan warfare, harrassing the Spanish troops, and by rapidly advancing and suddenly retreating, worried them with constant marches and counter-marches, and when a favourable opportunity presented, engaged them, and often successfully.

To aid the exertions of the patriots in the island of Margaritta, and in Venezuela, Bolivar planned and fitted out an expedition from Aux Cayes, in conjunction with Brion, a native of Curracoa, who had served on board the flotilla, in the employ of the republican government of Venezuela. Brion, being wealthy, contributed largely towards the expenses of the expedition, and as a remuneration, was appointed to command the maritime force, which consisted of two ships of war and thirteen transports, most of which carried guns. One thousand troops were on board, made up of the emigrants from Venezuela, and a part of the garrison that escaped from Carthagena. The expedition sailed from Aux Cayes the latter part of March, 1816, and on its passage engaged and captured two Spanish ships of war, after a severe and bloody conflict, in which Brion was wounded. Early in May, the expedition landed at the island of Margaritta, and disembarked the troops. The patriots took possession of the whole island, the Spaniards abandoning all but the fortress of Pampatar. The expedition sailed from Margaritta to Carupano, fifteen miles west of the town of Cumana, where Bolivar overcame the royalists, and took possession of the town. His successes revived the spirit of resistance in Caracoas, and numerous guerrilla parties came to join him, which he furnished with arms. From Carupano, Bolivar sailed to Chorino and Ocumare, situated between the ports of La Guayra and Puerto Cabello, and landed there the 6th of July. Near Ocumare and Chorino are numerous plantations of sugar, cocoa, and indigo, on which many slaves were employed. As the enemy had set the example of liberating slaves, and thinking that this measure would be expedient in the present aspect of affairs, Bolivar, on landing at Ocumare, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Caraccas, in which he declares "that justice and

policy demand the emancipation of the slaves, and that henceforth there shall be but one class of people in Venezuela; all shall be citizens."

The successes of the patriots under Bolivar, and on the island of Margaritta, astonished the royalists, and filled them with rage. To perceive the patriots rising up, they scarcely knew from whence, and defeating their garrisons and troops, and re-occupying the country they had so recently conquered, served not only to convince them what kind of enemies they had to contend with, and how difficult it would be to conquer a country, where, like the fabled hydra, for every head that was cut off, two sprang up; but these successes seemed to be robbing them of the victories they had already won, and the advantages they had obtained. Nothing could exceed their violence and fury towards all, without distinction of age or sex, who favoured the cause of independence. Among other outrages which were committed in the town of Cumana, a female, of respectable family, for the crime of having spoken against the Spanish government, was placed on an ass, led through the streets, attended by a guard of soldiers, and publicly scourged so barbarously as to occasion her death.*

Bolivar left part of his troops at Chorino, under Sir Gregor M'Gregor, a Scotchman, who had been a captain in the English army in Portugal, and had served in the cavalry of Venezuela in 1811, but whose subsequent exploits acquired for him more notoriety than honourable fame; and the residue he disembarked at Ocumare. M'Gregor, whose force formed the vanguard of the army, took Maraca and La Cabrera, and was proceeding against Victoria, when he was arrested in his successful career by the arrival of a detachment of Spanish troops under General Morales. He had been sent by Morillo, on his receiving intelligence of the expedition against Venezuela.—The two divisions of Bolivar's little army, consisting in all of less than one thousand men, were unfortunately separated several miles, of which Morales took advantage, and attacked the rear guard under the liberator himself; and after a desperate and sanguinary contest, Bolivar was compelled to leave the field, with the loss of two hundred of his men, including most of his best officers. The remnant of his army sought safety by speedily re-embarking. This disastrous event induced M'Gregor to change his intended movements, and to take

* An account of this barbarous transaction is given in the journal of Capt. Hardy, in the ship Mermaid, he being himself an eye witness of it.

the road to Barcelona by the plains. Encouraged by the defeat of Bolivar, the royalists thought that M'Gregor would fall an easy prey; they pursued him so furiously, and were so certain of capturing him, that they sent official information to Caraccas, that he had been defeated, all his men made prisoners, and himself killed, the very soldier being named who had stripped him of his uniform on the field of battle. It was one hundred miles to Barcelona, and Morales pursued the patriots with all his forces, and came up and attacked them at Alacan, but was repulsed. Morales also engaged the patriots at Juncal, where he was completely defeated, and M'Gregor took possession of Barcelona in October, which opened to him a communication with the other republican generals in Cumana and Guiana.

The royalists evacuated the fortress of Pampatar on the 2d November, leaving the island of Margaritta in the quiet possession of the patriots, which enabled general Arismendi to embark from the island with part of his troops, and join the patriots in Barcelona. Bolivar, after his defeat at Ocumare, sailed again to Aux Cayes, where, having obtained re-enforcements, he embarked in December, 1816, and stopping at Margaritta, he published a proclamation, calling a general congress of the representatives of Venezuela, and proceeded with his expedition to Barcelona. Here he organized a provisional government, and was attacked by the enemy under Morales and Real in the months of February and March, 1817, but defeated them with great loss. The royalists were, also, defeated in Guiana by the patriots under Piar, in April, and compelled to shut themselves up in the town of Angostura.

We return to the movements of general Morillo, who, it will be remembered, entered Carthagena on the 6th of December, 1815. The possession of Carthagena, in a great degree, opened to Morillo the conquest of all New Grenada. The army of the confederacy that had fought under Bolivar, which was not destroyed in the civil war, had joined the garrison of Carthagena, and the armies under Cabal and Urdaneta were small, and occupied with the Spanish forces with which they were engaged. Morillo had a powerful force, which enabled him, by dividing it, to invade the confederate provinces in three different directions. General Calzadas, with a force consisting of some provincial royalists, and a part of the troops left by Morillo at Caraccas, invaded the provinces of Pamplona and Tunja; another division of the Spanish army marched into the provinces of Antioquia and Popayan, and Morillo, with the principal division of his army, proceed-

ed up the river Magdalena. He followed up the river nearly to Sanbartolome, where he divided his forces, taking, himself, the road towards Ocana and Sangil, in the province of Socorro; whilst a part of his troops continued up the river as far as the town of Honda, the head of boat navigation.

Formidable and appalling as was this invasion, the congress exerted themselves to the utmost to meet it, and defend the country. The members either joined the army, or returned to the provinces, to rouse the people. The greatest efforts were made to raise an army such as the crisis demanded; and the government was greatly aided by the emigrants from Venezuela, among whom were many experienced officers. But consternation prevailed among the people, which paralysed every exertion. The day of triumph had arrived for the Spaniards, and the republicans could not stop their victorious career. The confederacy, however, was not overrun and subjugated without a struggle and severe fighting. The defiles through which the enemy were obliged to pass, were fortified, and many of the towns put in a state of defence, which were not overcome by the royalists without many bloody conflicts. At Zaragoza and Remedios the patriots made a resolute defence, and in the attack on the latter place, they repulsed the enemy, and obtained considerable advantages. In most of the skirmishes and actions, however, which occurred, the advantage was on the part of the royalists. At length the hard-fought and sanguinary battle of Cachira, in which the best troops and most of the officers of the confederate army fell, decided the fate of New Grenada. The congress immediately separated, and the remnant of the army that survived the action, under generals Cerviez and Ricaute, sought safety by taking the road to Los Llanos. There being no longer an army to oppose him, Morillo entered Santa Fe de Bogota, in the month of June, 1816, where he remained until November, carrying on the work of *pacification*. Vengeance now opened her flood-gates, and the blood of the patriots flowed as freely and as profusely as the waters down the Andes. "More than six hundred persons," says an authentic work, "of those who had composed the congress and the provincial governments, as well as the chiefs of the independent army, were shot, hanged, or exiled; and the prisons remained full of others who were yet waiting their fate. Among those executed were the botanists Don J. Caldas and Don J. Lozano, who had been ordered by the congress of New Grenada to publish the works of Dr. Mutis; Don J. M. Cabal, a distinguished chemist; Don C. Torres, a man distinguished for his learning; Don

J. G. Gutierrez Moreno, and Don M. R. Torices, both well known for having been entirely devoted to the cause of their country; Don Antonio Maria Palacio-faxar, Don J. M Gutierrez, Don Miguel Pombo, D. F. A. Ulloa, and many other learned and valuable characters. The wives of persons executed, or exiled by Morillo, were themselves exiled too."

What but the outstretched arm of exasperated despotism, could produce such a picture of cruelty, suffering, and bloodshed; such waste of life; such accumulated misery? Surely, tyranny, this is thy own work! Well might the author of such horrid deeds conclude, that "a military government is the worst of any known form; that it is the most *tyrannical and destructive*;" and, after viewing the works of his own hands, with truth might he speak of America, as a country "in which all was war, desolation, and horror."* If any thing could aggravate those enormities, it would be the consideration, that they were committed against a people who, Morillo, himself, says, were *timid*, and would not have made much resistance, had not the insurgents from Venezuela come to encourage and assist them. "In Santa Fe," says Morillo in a Letter to the Spanish minister of war, which fell into the hands of the patriots, "there are but few blacks and mulattoes; in Venezuela a considerable part of the white population has perished in the revolution. The inhabitants of Santa Fe are timid; those of Venezuela, bold and sanguinary. In Santa Fe much has been published during the revolution, and the learned have ruled all with their pens; but in Caraccas they displayed earlier the naked sword. From this dissimilarity of character arises the different opposition we have met with; but in their dissimulation and perfidy, the people in all the provinces resemble each other. Probably, in this viceroyalty, the inhabitants would not have opposed so firmly the king's troops, had not many from Venezuela come to support them. It was spurred on by them, that Carthagena resisted so strenuously. The division of the army that attacked Zaragoza and Remedios has opposed many troops disciplined by these insurgents. The government of Antioquia has already twice proclaimed *la guerra muerte*, and has skilfully fortified the defiles of the province by engineers from Venezuela. It was by the activity of the same insurgents that Santa Fe was obliged to submit to the congress, and received their

*Extract from Morillo's Letter to the minister of war in Spain, found on board of the schooner La Leon, captured by the privateer, The Congress, from Buenos Ayres.

sanguinary ideas. All is effected by the rebels from Venezuela. They are like ferocious beasts when they fight in their own country; and if they get able commanders, it will require many years to subdue them, and even then it will be done at the expense of much blood, and considerable sums of money."

Yet the man who could commit such horrid outrages as these, against a "timid" people, who were influenced by the pens of their learned men, talks about his having "displayed that clemency, so much recommended by the king, which was unbounded."* If this is royal clemency, we would ask, what is royal severity?

The success of the patriots in Venezuela, induced Morillo to leave Santa Fe, at the head of two thousand men, in November, 1816, to re-enforce the royalist troops at Caraccas. He was attacked on his way by the patriot general Paez, near San Fernando de Apure, with success and advantage on the part of the Independents.

During the months of February and March, of 1817, the patriots kept possession of the town of Barcelona, which was the only important place held by them in Venezuela; although they had several guerrilla corps scattered over the interior.—And their flotilla under Brion commanded the sea coast, which enabled them to declare the whole coast of Venezuela in a state of blockade. Bolivar having advanced with a considerable part of his troops into the interior, the royalists availing themselves of this circumstance, made another attempt against the town of Barcelona, and after besieging it for some time, finally succeeded in taking it by assault on the 7th of April. In the month of May, the royal troops in Venezuela were re-enforced by sixteen hundred men from Spain.

The loss of Barcelona was compensated by the success of the patriots under general Piar, in Guiana, who defeated the enemy at a place called Missions, about one hundred miles below Angostura, and this victory enabled Piar to march against the town of Angostura, the capital of Guiana, and to lay siege to it. Bolivar the commander in chief, who had marched towards the South, soon after reached Angostura, and joining Piar, assumed the command. The town was now closely invested both by sea and land, by the aid of the naval force under Brion; and the siege carried on with vigour and activity. The flotilla cutting off all intercourse by water, and intercepting all supplies, the town was compelled to capitulate in the

*Extract of his letter to the Spanish minister.

month of August, and the province of Guiana, sharing the fate of its capital, fell into the hands of the patriots. At a time when the cause of the revolution, was in so low a condition, and regarded abroad as annihilated, and at home as almost entirely hopeless, the conquest of Guiana, was an important acquisition, and gave a favourable impulse to the war. It added greatly to the resources and means of the patriots for carrying on hostilities; and what perhaps was equally important, the possession of the immense plains of the great valley of the Orinoco, uncovered a long line of frontier, and enabled the patriots not only to cut off the supplies which the royalists were accustomed to receive from that quarter, but to make constant inroads into the territory in the occupation of the enemy, and to destroy his small detachments stationed along the line of the frontier. The possession of Guiana, also afforded access to the sea which not only opened to the patriots a communication with the Island of Margaritta, their naval rendezvous, but likewise enabled them to receive from the West Indies and elsewhere, military supplies.

Whilst the republicans were thus strengthening themselves, by the occupation of Guiana, the royalists were engaged in an unsuccessful expedition against the Island of Margaritta, which, since its emancipation in 1816, by the efforts of general Arismendi and its heroic inhabitants, had been the principal naval station of the patriots.

The congress of Venezuela which had been re-established by Bolivar, on the 8th of May, 1817, in the city of San Felipe de Cariaco, in Cumana, and which on the fall of that place, had taken refuge in Margaritta, after remaining there twelve days only, was obliged again to seek safety by retiring on board the patriot flotilla, in consequence of the threatened invasion of the Island. In the month of June, the royalists appeared before Margaritta, with a squadron consisting of two corvettes and five brigs; and on the 14th of July, 1817, General Morillo arrived with a formidable re-enforcement, consisting of 3,500 troops, and an additional naval force. He immediately stormed Pampatar, the principal fort and fortress of the island, which he reduced, and of which he possessed himself, after a most determined and desperate resistance. Morillo now supposed that the principal obstacle to the conquest of the Island was overcome, and being exasperated against the inhabitants, in consequence of their having been the first to raise the republican standard, after his conquest of all Venezuela, in 1815, he resolved to make an example of this devoted island, and to exterminate all the inhabitants who made

any resistance. There were but few troops on the Island, and general Morillo possessed a numerous and veteran army, apparently sufficient to crush in a moment all resistance. Never was the remark more fully illustrated than on this occasion, that in a contest against liberty, the inhabitants all become soldiers, and that not only the armies but the whole population must be overcome, before a conquest can be obtained. The entire population of the island of Margaritta, was but about 20,000; yet such was their truly Spartan heroism, that if they could not say with that ancient city, that they never saw the smoke of an enemy's camp; like its renowned citizens, they were resolved that the enemy should enter their capital only, by passing over the dead bodies of its inhabitants. They had determined to defend the island or perish in the attempt, and their desperate bravery, firmness and perseverance, completely baffled all the efforts of a powerful and veteran army, led on by an able and experienced general. After fighting five battles, and approaching in different directions nearly to Assumption, the capital of the island, marking his progress every where, with the most inhuman butcheries, and reducing the island almost to a state of desolation, the blood-thirsty Morillo was compelled, reluctantly to retire, with the loss of 1000 of his troops, and to abandon the object of his expedition.—This heroic and successful defence has not received the notice it is entitled to; it is scarcely surpassed by any examples in history, and the bravery, firmness, and self-devotion of the inhabitants, is worthy of the highest admiration.

CHAPTER VI.

Defection of Piar—Bolivar re-elected governor of Venezuela—attempts of the patriots to obtain foreign aid—they receive assistance from Great Britain—Bolivar's plan for emancipating New Grenada—Congress installed at Angostura—expedition for the liberation of New Grenada—incredible difficulties it has to encounter—its success—battle of Boyaca—Bolivar enters Santa Fe de Bogota—establishes a provisional government for New Grenada—he returns to Angostura—installation of the Congress—his speech—union of Venezuela and New Grenada—defeat of M'Gregor—success of the revolution—its influence abroad—preparations for the approaching campaign—it opens by the capture of Rio de la Hacha.

In the month of October, 1817, a most alarming conspiracy, was discovered, headed by general Piar, which threatened to blast the hopes of the patriots, and ruin forever the cause of the revolution. General Piar had fought bravely and rendered important services to the republic, particularly in the liberation of Guiana, and he had been rewarded by the highest rank in the army, and even the second post in the republic, then vacated by the separation of general Marino, was proposed to be conferred on him.* But, intoxicated with success and the favours of fortune, his boundless ambition, not satisfied with these honours, aimed at the chief command. To attain this object, he had formed an atrocious plot, involving not only a civil war, but the sacrifice of his companions in arms.

This unfortunate victim of ambition, was tried by a council of war, and sentenced to be executed, the 16th of October, 1817. During this month, the patriots defeated the Spaniards in Pamplona, and liberated that province. On the 11th of November, the same year, the supreme congress of Venezuela, was organized at Angostura, and general Bolivar, was re-elected president of the republic. The close of the year found the affairs of the patriots in a comparatively prosperous condition, and hope once more scattered light in the path of independence and liberty. The arms of the republic for the last six months, had been crowned with signal success; in ad-

* See Bolivar's proclamation of 17th Oct. 1817.

dition to Guiana and the plains. they had liberated the provinces of Casanare, Barinas, Pamplona, and the interior of Cumana, Barcelona, and Caraccas. The possession of the vast plains of the Orinoco, was of the greatest advantage in supplying the patriots with cattle and horses for the army, and at the same time deprived the enemy of these resources; it also laid open an extensive frontier, and enabled their guerrilla parties, to annoy the enemy by a predatory warfare along the whole line of this frontier, and facilitated the fitting out of formidable expeditions against the enemy's posts.

Availing himself of these advantages, great exertions were now made by Bolivar, aided by the congress, to open the campaign the ensuing year with an imposing force.—His first object was to wrest from the enemy one of his principal posts, called San Fernando de Apure; for which purpose he despatched an expedition by water, consisting of thirty gun-boats, and marched himself to form a junction with general Paez, in that quarter. Paez was a distinguished patriot chief, and an able commander of cavalry, who had already liberated an extensive district of country, from the Spanish domination, and raised numerous corps of cavalry, for the service of the republic.—The united forces of Bolivar and Paez, were successful in the first operations, and they penetrated into the interior beyond Calaboza, driving the enemy before them, and in some instances destroying their detachments. But after various sanguinary conflicts, many of them sharp and obstinate, and which were attended with alternate success, no important advantages were gained by the patriots, and Bolivar was obliged to relinquish the object of liberating Venezuela this season, and retire to Guiana.

Although the republicans made little or no progress this year, in rescuing from the Spaniards that part of Venezuela which they held, yet the campaign was by no means lost, as it had changed the order of operations and obliged the royalists to act wholly on the defensive.

There is a negative, as well as positive success in war; and not to be vanquished, is sometimes almost equivalent to victory. Even victory, in some cases, is attended with the ultimate, if not the immediate consequence of defeat. It was no small success for the patriots, most of their forces consisting of raw troops, to be able to maintain the field, and to contend with advantage and often with success, with the veteran troops of Spain, and to arrest the successful career of the enemy.

Every conflict, was improving their knowledge in the practice of war, and diminishing the advantages of the royalists, in military experience and discipline; and where the sacrifices attending this acquisition, were nearly equal, the patriots were relatively great gainers, as their losses could be easily supplied, while the losses of the royalists, were nearly irreparable. The operations of 1816 and 17, which effectually checked the victorious career of the barbarous Morillo, broke the spell of invincibility which had been attached to his name, so that it no longer spread terror and dismay through the ranks of the patriots.

Hitherto the independents had sustained the unequal contest unaided and alone; the friends of liberty, both in Europe and the United States, had contented themselves, with extending to them, their good wishes, a succour not very efficacious, in the struggles of war. The revolutionists, at first looked with great expectations to Great Britain, in consequence of the disposition she had long manifested, to favour the independence of Venezuela, to promote her commerce with South America. After the establishment of the junta in Caraccas in 1810, L. L. Mendez, and Simon Bolivar were appointed to solicit the countenance and support of the British government, in favour of the revolution. But the policy of the British cabinet was now changed, as it was engaged in supporting the Spanish patriots in the peninsula, against the French; and the only effect of this mission, was a decree ordering the governors of their West India islands to maintain a strict neutrality, in the contest between Spain and her colonies, provided the new governments continued to act in the name of Ferdinand the VIIth. This decree seemed to imply, that if the patriots declared the country independent, the British government might favour Spain in reducing them to obedience. And in a treaty concluded with Ferdinand, after his restoration, it was stated "the Prince Regent hoped that Ferdinand would restore peace in his American colonies; and that entertaining this hope, he would engage not to assist the insurgents, and would even endeavour to prevent his subjects from affording them any assistance."

In the year 1810, the junta of Caraccas deputed Telesfero Orea, to the government of the United States, and in 1815, the congress of New Grenada sent to Don Pedro Gaul, now secretary of foreign affairs in Colombia, on a mission to this country; and the following year Bolivar despatched to Washington, Don Lino de Clemente. The policy of our government, as it regards its foreign relations, adopted by Washing-

ton, and followed by all his successors, did not admit of the government's affording assistance to the patriots, or even of its departing from a strict line of neutrality, however much it might desire, in common with all our citizens, success to their cause. Instead of succouring the patriots, the president in order to maintain our neutrality, was obliged to issue a proclamation in September, 1815, ordering the persons who had assembled in Louisiana, with the intention of forming an expedition to Mexico, to disperse. A law was, also, passed by congress, authorizing the president to prevent the sale of vessels of war by the citizens of the United States to the subjects of any foreign power, the object of which was, to prevent the arming and equipping of vessels of war in our ports, destined to be employed against any nation in amity with this country. Many of our citizens thought these measures went farther, than either duty or policy required.

It is a curious fact, and strongly illustrative of the selfish policy which governs the conduct of nations, that France was the only power that manifested any intention of assisting the patriots in their arduous struggle. In 1812, after the royalists had re-conquered and laid waste Venezuela, and the same dreadful fate impended over New Grenada, the congress of that country resolved to apply for succour to some foreign power. It was in vain to apply to England; little hope remained of assistance from the United States, and France, under the *despotism* of Bonaparte, was the only power of which there was any prospect of obtaining assistance to the sacred cause of *liberty* and independence. It was determined, however, that application should be renewed to the United States, and if unsuccessful, then to be made to Bonaparte, who had twice declared that he would assist the new world in obtaining their independence. Accordingly, Don M. Placio Faxar was sent on a double mission to Washington. Having made known the object of his mission to Mr. Madison, and informed him that the people of New Grenada were unable, without assistance, to support the contest necessary to maintain their freedom, he was answered by the president, that, "though the United States were not in alliance, they were at peace with Spain, and could not, therefore, assist the independents; still as inhabitants of the same continent, they wished well to their exertions." The commissioner then addressed himself to M. Serrurier, the French minister, resident at Washington, who encouraged him to apply to Napoleon, which he did, with every prospect of success. The arrangements were actually making to give effective assistance to the South Americans,

when the battle of Leipsic took place, which threatened the invasion of France, and left the Emperor no opportunity to attend to any thing, but the maintenance of his own power.

During nine years, the patriots of Venezuela and New Grenada, unaided and alone, without allies and without assistance, sustained the most desperate and sanguinary struggle in defence of their independence, with a firmness and perseverance almost unexampled, under sufferings and sacrifices, truly incredible; a large proportion of the white population in Venezuela having been destroyed, and both countries devastated with fire and sword. But the time had now arrived, that the South American patriots were to receive a more efficient support from abroad than the sympathies of the friends of liberty. Their sufferings and sacrifices; their bravery, firmness, and perseverance; their patriotic devotion to the sacred cause of liberty and independence, under the most appalling circumstances, calculated to "try men's souls," awakened the attention of the world, and inspired the confidence, and excited the highest admiration of the friends of liberty in the United States and in Europe, particularly in the British Isles. The cries of liberty, the voice of struggling freedom, were heard across the waters, and excited the most lively sympathy in kindred breasts. Men who had performed such wonders—who had suffered so much, in a cause so sacred—the defence of their liberties and their lives, against a cruel and relentless despotism, presented claims, not only for the sympathy, but for aid and assistance, from the lovers of liberty and friends of humanity throughout the world.* Notwithstanding the policy of

* The history of the revolution in South America abounds, not only in deeds of desperate bravery, but affords instances of the truly Roman spirit of liberty, and of self devotion. In 1817, Morillo, having got into his power a son of the patriot General Zaraza, conferred on him the commission of ensign, by which means he was in hopes to induce the patriot chief to embrace the advantages offered in the Indulto, or act of oblivion, and join the royal standard. Accordingly, Morillo sent a priest of the name of Sutil, accompanied by the young Zaraza, to the patriot general, who was informed, by the clerical messenger, that Morillo would make him a brigadier, if he would go over with his troops to the royal standard. To this proposal Zaraza made the following noble reply: "Not until I behold my wife and unfortunate children, cruelly murdered by the legions of Gen. Morillo, restored to life again, shall I desist from the noble undertaking and glorious strife in which I am now engaged against the tyrants of their country, and the assassins of their innocent posterity." Having said these words, he handed a sword to his son, who, scorning a rank which was given him merely for the sake of necessity or convenience, grasped the weapon; when his father added, "with this, you must defend the rights of your country, and avenge the death of your mother and brethren."

the government founded on the dictates of prudence and caution, the people of the United States almost universally felt a deep and lively interest in the success of their brethren in South America, engaged in the same desperate struggle for liberty as they themselves had gone through; not, however, without foreign succour, which the South Americans had not hitherto been so fortunate as to obtain. Near the close of the year 1817, the president of the United States appointed three commissioners, Messrs. Rodney, Bland, and Graham, to visit the independant States in South America to ascertain their political condition, and their means and prospects of securing their independence; and early in 1818, the legislature of Kentucky adopted resolutions, expressing their sense of the propriety and expediency of the national government, acknowledging the independence of the South American republics. These resolutions, probably, emanated from the influence of Mr. Clay, now secretary of state, who, from the first, has been a zealous and steadfast friend of the South American patriots. Some individuals from the United States joined the patriots, and some supplies of ammunition and muskets were furnished them from this country.

It was from the British Isles, however, that they received the greatest assistance, both in men and munitions of war. Both in England and Ireland, a number of patriotic individuals espoused the cause of the South American patriots with zeal and disinterested devotion. Such was the success of the exertions of these disinterested patriots in England and Ireland, that, in the summer of 1818, and early in the year of 1819, not only large supplies of arms and munitions of war were sent to the Orinoco, but a considerable auxiliary force, consisting of several hundred volunteers, arrived at the island of Margaritta, from whence they were forwarded to the Orinoco in season for the next campaign. A number of experienced English and Irish officers either accompanied or followed these troops, which was an invaluable acquisition to the patriots; being extremely useful in imparting military knowledge and skill to the officers, and discipline to the troops, in the patriot service. The troops, too, were veteran soldiers, who had seen much service; and the foreign officers and soldiers probably contributed, in no small degree, to the glorious successes of the ensuing campaign.

The indefatigable Bolivar, whose extraordinury exertions for the emancipation of his country, have, by the unanimous voice of America and Europe, justly entitled him to the illustrious appellation of the Washington of South America, now

conceived the bold project of emancipating New Grenada, when Morillo supposed that the whole efforts of the patriots would be required in Venezuela. In opening a campaign in New Grenada, difficulties numerous and appalling were to be overcome; unexplored tracts of wilderness were to be traversed; rapid and dangerous rivers, swelled into lakes by the rains, were to be crossed, and mountains apparently inaccessible to be passed; and with an army hastily collected, a considerable part of which were destitute of discipline, and unaccustomed to the hardships of service—badly equipped and clothed, and scantily provided with the means of subsistence. Formidable as were these difficulties, they did not surpass the resolution of the chief of the revolution, or shake the firmness of his purpose. The liberation of New Grenada, whether regarded with reference to the relief it would afford to the oppressed inhabitants, the importance of the acquisition, or the influence it would have on the revolutionary cause, was an object demanding the utmost efforts of the republic. The cause of Venezuela and New Grenada were essentially identified, and reciprocally influenced each other. Animated by the magnitude, and even by the difficulties of the enterprize, Bolivar made every possible effort his situation and resources would admit of in preparing for this important campaign.

But the preparations for the approaching campaign did not engross the entire attention of Bolivar, who was not only the liberator, but the legislator of his country; not only the commander in chief of her armies, but the head of the government, and the founder of her institutions. The congress of Venezuela was installed at Angostura in February or March, 1819, to deliberate on the form of a constitution for the republic. The session was opened by a long and elaborate speech by the president, exhibiting his views of the most suitable government for Venezuela, under existing circumstances. This speech comprises twenty-five printed folio pages, and evinces a profound acquaintance with the history, principles, and practical operations of various forms of government, and a heart warmed with the holy fire of patriotism, deeply anxious to secure to his country wise institutions, affording the surest pledge of preserving its liberty, and securing its prosperity and happiness. It concludes in the following glowing language:—

"*Legislators!* Condescend to receive, with indulgence, the declaration of my political creed, the highest wishes of my

heart, and earnest petition, which, in the name of the people, I have dared to address you.

"Vouchsafe to grant to Venezuela a government purely popular, purely just, and purely moral, which will enchain oppression, anarchy, and crime—a government which will cause innocency, philanthropy, and peace to reign—a government which, under the dominion of inexorable laws, will cause equality and liberty to triumph.

"Gentlemen! Commence your duties. I have finished mine.

"The congress of the republic of Venezuela is installed. In it, from this moment, is centered the national sovereignty. We all owe to it obedience and fidelity. My sword, and those of my fellows-in-arms, will maintain its august authority."

Having discharged this responsible duty, respecting the establishment of a system of government for the republic, Bolivar directed his whole attention to preparations for the liberation of New Grenada. He organized a select corps composed of Irish and English foreign auxiliaries, and some of his best troops. General Paez, whose name had become a terror to the royalists, was to remain behind, entrusted with the important duty of watching the motions of Morillo, and defending Guiana and the territories of Venezuela in the possession of the republicans. Every thing being in readiness, taking advantage of the rainy season, when the royalists had abandoned the plains, and were reposing in security, the army commenced its march in the month of April, on an enterprize, the importance of which was only surpassed by its intrinsic difficulties. The constancy and fortitude of this army, in sustaining the fatigues and hardships which it had to endure, and surmounting the numerous obstacles that opposed its progress, will not suffer from a comparison with the army with which the Carthagenian hero conquered the Alps. "The rainy season," says Bolivar, "had commenced, and the plains presented only vast sheets of inundations; the frozen summits of the Andes lay in our route; the sudden mutations of adverse climates were to be encountered; a well disciplined army, three times our own number, were in front of us, and occupying all the military positions of those regions."

On the arrival of the army in the province of Casanare, it formed a junction with the troops of that province under the command of General Santander; on which occasion Bolivar issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of New Grenada, in which he says, that "the groans which Spanish tyranny extorted from you, have reached the ears of your brethren in Venezuela, who, after having thrown off the yoke of our com-

mon oppressors, wish to share their liberty with you. A British legion, from more distant climes, has left the glory of its country to acquire the renown of saviours of America; this liberating army of friends and benefactors is now in the bosom of your country, and God, who always protects suffering humanity, will make the arms of your redeemers triumphant."

The united armies were a whole month in marching through the province of Casanare, and in overcoming the obstacles which every day appeared to multiply as they advanced.—They had to cross a number of navigable rivers, which, at this season of the year, overflowed their banks, and inundated the country and the roads over the plains. It rained, almost constantly day and night. The roughness of the mountains rendered them almost inaccessible, and in four days marching over them, all the transports were rendered useless, and all the cattle provided for the army were lost. No enemy was discovered until they reached the river Tunya, on the 27th of June, 1819, when the vanguard of the liberating army attacked and dislodged a detachment of three hundred royalists, occupying a position so strong, by nature, that one hundred men are sufficient to stop the passage of ten thousand. The royalists' destroying the bridge across the river, prevented their being pursued, so that the only direct advantage of the victory was the possession of the harbour, and the provisions left by the enemy. But as this was the opening of the campaign, it had a favourable influence on the army after their incredible fatigues, as the first events are often regarded, in some degree, as presages of the final result.

This affair was immediately followed by a succession of the most splendid victories the revolution affords, and which not only speedily terminated the campaign, but decided the fate of New Grenada, and perhaps it is hardly too much to say, of the revolution in the whole of Spanish America. The first action was fought on the first of July, in the valley of Sagamoso, in the province of Tunja, between the liberating army and the main army of the royalists of New Grenada, commanded by Bareyro. The contest was long, obstinate, and continued until ten o'clock at night, when the Spaniards were routed and compelled to retreat in great disorder, to save themselves from destruction.

After considerable manœuvering by both the hostile armies, they encountered each other again on the 25th of July, at Pantano de Bargas, near the capital of the province of Tunja.—

* Despatch of Bolivar, dated 30th of June, 1819.

The action lasted for five hours, both parties fighting with the greatest desperation. Victory at length declared for the patriots, and the route of the royalists was complete; they were obliged to retreat in confusion, leaving their artillery, baggage, and treasures, on the field of battle, with their killed and wounded. The Spanish army retreated by the road of Samaca, in the direction of the capital, and were pursued and overtaken by the liberating army on the 7th of August, at Boyaca. At day-light the advanced corps of the patriots discovered that the enemy intended to pass the bridge at Boyaca, when Bolivar ordered the whole army under arms for action, and to march to the high road to prevent the royalists from crossing the bridge, or force them to give battle. At two in the afternoon, the enemy's first division reached the bridge, where they saw the advance cavalry of the patriots, and supposing it a reconnoitring party, they attacked it to clear the way for the main body of the royal army. The divisions of the liberating army quickened their march, and, to the great surprise of the royalists, the whole of its infantry appeared in a column on a height commanding a view of their position. The main body of the enemy was stationed about three fourths of a mile from the bridge. The infantry of the liberating army came down from the height, and, together with the cavalry, marched along the road to give the enemy battle; who, in the mean time, made a movement by his right, which was opposed by the British legion. The battalions of Barcelona, the intrepid corps of Paez, and the squadron of cavalry of the upper plains, formed the centre of the liberating army; the battalion of the line of New Grenada, the battalion of Cozadores, and the guards of the rear, formed the left, and the columns of Tunja and Socorro remained as a reserve. The enemy was formed in a column on a height, with three pieces of artillery in the centre, and two squadrons of cavalry on the flanks, where they waited the attack. The patriot general Anzoategui directed the operations of the centre and right, and Gen. Santander the left. The troops of the centre comprising the invincible corps of Paez, whilst exposed to the fire of a body of the enemy posted on their left flank, attacked with great intrepidity the main body of the royalists. The enemy received them with firmness, and poured into them a tremendous fire; but the independents, regardless of this, by the most daring and active movements surrounded all the enemy's corps, when the cavalry, charging with great impetuosity and courage, the enemy was driven from his position and thrown into disorder, which rendered all the efforts of the Spanish

commander unavailing. The horse grenadiers set the first example of flight; the infantry attempted to form on another height, but were assailed so hotly that they were instantly routed, and being enclosed on all sides, they threw down their arms and surrendered. By an almost simultaneous movement, general Santander, who commanded the left, and who had met with but little resistance from the enemy's van, charged, passed the bridge, and completed the victory. The conflict was short, but terrible, and victory was not for a moment doubtful; the slaughter was great, and the Spanish army entirely annihilated. General Bareyro, the commander in chief, Ximines, the second in command, a great number of field and inferior officers, and 1600 men, were made prisoners. The spoils of the vanquished, which fell into the hands of the patriots, were great, consisting of artillery. arms, ammunition, horses, &c. General Santander, with the van, pursued the fugitives to Venta Quemada, and the rest of the army remained all night on the field of battle. The Spanish army consisted of above 3,000 men: that of Bolivar something less.

This great and decisive action, which may be regarded as holding that place in the Colombian revolution that the victory at Saratoga did in our own, gave the patriots the possession of Santa Fe, the capital of New Grenada, and the neighbouring provinces The viceroy, Samano, immediately on obtaining news of the defeat of the royal army, with a few attendants left the capital, and reached Carthagena by way of Mompox, where he was defeated, and escaped with a handful of men to Tericabo, an elevated position about twelve miles from Carthagena. He left all his military stores at Santa Fe, and a large sum in specie in the treasury and mint, said to amount to two or three millions.

It is impossible for language to describe the joy and enthusiasm with which the inhabitants of Santa Fe de Bogota received the victorious Bolivar, who had generously come to their relief when hope had almost forsaken them; he was hailed as their deliverer, their redeemer, as the first of patriots and the greatest of heroes, who surpassed the renowned Hannibal in overcoming the obstacles of nature, and the still greater Bonaparte, in the rapidity of his movements and the success of his bold and noble enterprises. In seventy-five days he performed a march of nearly one thousand miles, fought three pitched battles, and emancipated a nation struggling under the weight of oppression, and whose wounds, inflicted by the sanguinary Morillo, were not yet healed.

Improving the advantages which fortune and his own valor

had conferred on him, Bolivar immediately directed his attention to making the best dispositions of the augmented military resources now at his command. The inhabitants flocked to his standard, and two armies were raised, organised, and put in motion about the 20th of September; one for the south, and the other destined to liberate the provinces of the north, still in the possession of the royalists. A provisional government for New Grenada was also established, and all the necessary arrangements made for the security of the country in which Bolivar was seconded by the inhabitants; and after submitting to Samano proposals for an exchange of prisoners, he left the capital of New Grenada to return to Angostura, where the congress of Venezuela was expected to be in session. He travelled with expedition corresponding with the celerity of his movements when at the head of the army. From Pamplona to Angostura, which usually requires twenty-five or thirty days, he went in seventeen, and arrived at the latter place on the 11th of December, 1819, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, now the liberator of New Grenada as well as of Venezuela.

On the 14th of December the congress was installed, on which occasion the president delivered a speech, giving a brief account of the campaign, the difficulties the army had to encounter from the inundations of the plains, the roughness and frozen summits of the mountains, and the superior force of the enemy, who occupied all the strong positions of the country. But notwithstanding these difficulties, in less than three months this victorious army, besides overcoming the floods of the plains and the frosts of the Andes, annihilated an army of three times their number, and liberated twelve provinces of New Grenada. The president does justice to the inhabitants of New Grenada: "It is not alone to the liberating army that we are indebted for these signal events; the people of New Grenada have shown themselves worthy of liberty; their efficient co-operation retrieved our losses and augmented our strength." He recommends the commemoration of these great achievments of his companions in arms; and concludes by informing the congress of the desire of the people of New Grenada to unite their destiny with Venezuela, and his own ardent wish for the union of the two countries. "Yes, legislators, the unanimous determination of perishing free, rather than to live slaves, hath given to the people of New Grenada a title to our admiration and respect. Their ardent desire to unite her destiny with Venezuela is not less magnanimous. The inhabitants of New Grenada are intimately penetrated with the great advantages to be derived from the union of both

countries in one republic. The reunion of Venezuela and New Grenada have been the unceasing object of my desires, from the commencement of my military career. It is also the original wish of the citizens of both countries, *and a certain guarantee of the liberties of all South America.*

"Legislators—The time to give a fixed and eternal basis to our republic has at length arrived; it belongs to your wisdom to decree this great social act, and to establish the principles of the sacred compact upon which the republic was to be erected. Proclaim it to the whole world, and my services and those of my companions in arms will be amply remunerated, and their utmost wishes accomplished."

Bolivar having closed his address, Mr. Zea, the vice-president, arose and replied:

"Among the many glorious and illustrious days consecrated by you to the republic, none has been more auspicious than that of the present, in which you have laid at the feet of the national representatives the laurel wreaths of victory, and the chains cut in pieces by your swords, which had bound in fetters two millions of people." After describing in glowing language the obstacles the army had to encounter, on account of the rainy season, in passing the Andes, and from the superior force of the enemy, he says:—"But every difficulty disappeared before the courage and impetuosity of the soldiers of independence. Scarcely can victory keep pace with the victor, and in less than three months, the principal and greatest part of New Grenada is liberated, by those troops whose destruction the viceroy of Santa Fe, had declared, in anticipation, as an inevitable consequence of their rashness and temerity." In conclusion, he adds his desires to those of the president for the union of the two countries: "Qnito, Santa Fe, and Venezuela united in one republic, who is competent to calculate the measure and magnitude of prosperity which belongs to such a mass of physical and moral power. May heaven bless this propitious union whose consolidation is the first object of all my cares, and of the most ardent desires of my heart."

On the 17th the congress passed what is called the fundamental law of the republic, which unites Venezuela and New Grenada into one state, under the name of the "Republic of Colombia." This act of union declares that the debts of the two republics shall be consolidated, and remain the national debt of Colombia; that the new republic shall be divided into departments, over each of which there shall be a chief magistrate, to be appointed by the president; that a city shall be

built, bearing the name of Bolivar, which shall be the capital of the republic; that a general congress of Colombia shall be assembled at Rosario de Cucuta, in January, 1821, and that the present congress shall be dissolved in January, 1820; that the general congress shall form a constitution for the new republic, and decree the arms and flag of Colombia. It further provided that a commission of six members should be invested with special powers during the recess of congress; that the new republic should be solemnly proclaimed to the citizens and the armies, with public festivals and rejoicings on the 25th of December, the nativity of the Saviour, and that the anniversary of this political regeneration shall be perpetually celebrated by a national feast, wherein virtue and talents shall be rewarded as at the Olympic games in ancient Greece.—This fundamental law of union was ordered to be recorded in the archives of the cabildos and municipalities, and to be promulgated throughout the republic.

This great political measure being accomplished, the founder of the new republic directed his attention to the prosecution of the war, and to preparations for an expulsion of the enemy from it. The army brought back from New Grenada was augmented by detachments of troops, to ten or twelve thousand men.

While the arms of the patriots were crowned with such signal success in the interior, some disasters occurred on the sea board. General M'Gregor fitted out an expedition, with a force of one thousand men, and on the 8th of April, 1819, attacked and captured Porto Bello; but after possessing the place twenty-one days, he was attacked by the royalists under general Hore, and defeated with the loss of his entire force, except a few attendants who escaped with their commander by swimming to one of their vessels. This fatal disaster did not discourage M'Gregor from his predatory warfare, and about the first of September, he sailed from Aux Cayes, with another expedition, with two hundred and fifty men, and succeeded in taking Rio de la Hacha, which he held five days, when the Spaniards rallied, attacked the assailants, and after a short conflict, M'Gregor, perceiving the enemy too strong for him, fled, leaving his men to make the best shift they could for themselves; and finding that they could make no further defence, such was their horror at falling into the hands of the Spaniards, that they blew up the fort, by which most of them fell the victims of their own folly and delusion.

On the 20th of December, Bolivar communicated to General Santander, vice-president of Cundinamarca, the fundamen-

tal law, which he desires him to carry into effect; and observes, that "the prospects opened by this ever memorable act, are as comprehensive as magnificent; freedom, power, grandeur, and stability, will be secured by such an union. By the unanimous voice of the deputies of Venezuela and New Grenada, the foundation has been laid, upon which the public happiness will be established with solidity and durability, and that character has been designed, by which this infant nation shall be recognized, and its political relations established with all the world."

On receiving this despatch, Santander assembled on the 12th of February, 1820, the constituted authorities of the new department of Cundinamarca, and laid the subject of the union before them with the fundamental law, who unanimously approved of the union, and ordered a solemn publication of it to be made in Bogota, the capital, which was done amidst the universal rejoicings of the people. In his answer to the letter of Bolivar, General Santander, after informing him of what had taken place at Bogota, and the unanimity with which ten provinces of New Grenada had acceded to the union, concludes by offering his congratulations on this auspicious event, to the illustrious president:

"For my own part, as the chief of this vast department, as well as an individual of the liberating army, which has so often acquired glory under your command, in the name of all the corporations, and of all these virtuous people who owe so much to your efforts, I offer the most sincere congratulations on this happy event; on no other occasion has your excellency deserved, with more justice, the glorious title of the *father of your country*; by you it has been emancipated from tyranny, defended, preserved, and united; and as it shall be presented to the world free, independent, and constituted into the republic of Colombia by the great founder, the immortal *Bolivar*."

The cause of South American independence was now gaining ground abroad, as well as at home; although no power, as yet, acknowledged its independence, or directly or indirectly afforded either of the new governments any assistance, or even countenance. In his message to congress, in December, 1819, president Monroe says, that "the greatest care has been taken to enforce the laws intended to preserve an impartial neutrality; that our ports have been equally open to both parties, and that our citizens have been equally restrained from interfering with either, to the prejudice of the other." He admits that the contest is of the highest interest to the United

States, but considers it of the greatest importance to our national character, and the morality of our citizens, that all violations of our neutrality should be prevented, and with a view to this, he recommends to congress to designate by law, the several ports at which foreign ships of war and privateers may be admitted. The people of the United States, however, felt an increasing interest in the success of the South American patriots. But it was to Great Britain that the patriots were principally indebted for foreign assistance. The English, Irish, and Scotch auxiliaries engaged in the last campaign, amounted to four or five hundred ; one quarter of which only survived, their loss being much greater than that of the troops of Venezuela, in consequence of their not being accustomed to the climate, or to a service attended with such fatigue and hardships This waste of the British troops, however, did not discourage their countrymen ; and during the year 1819, an Irish legion of one thousand men was raised by General D'Evereux for the service of Colombia. The troops were disembarked on the island of Margaritta, where they were afterwards joined by general D'Evereux, in honour of whom, and the cause of South American freedom, a splendid dinner was given in Dublin, on the 22d of July, 1819. The general, in an address on this occasion, observed, that "whilst he was anxious for the independence of South America, he thought he could not serve his own country better than in fighting the battles of the southern provinces of America, a country blessed by heaven, but cursed by man ;—rich in all that nature can bestow, but for ages blasted by the most withering despotism that ever shocked or disgraced humanity." More than two thousand guests were present, comprising most of the distinguished patriots of Ireland, and among the number was the celebrated orator, Charles Philips; who, having been honoured by a toast, arose and delivered a fervid and eloquent speech, exhibiting, in the most animating colours, the tyranny of Spain, and concluded with a personal address to general D'Evereux : "Go, then, soldier, of Ireland! Go, where glory awaits thee. Montezuma's spirit, from his bed of coals, through the mist of ages, calls to you for vengeance ; the patriot Cortes, in their dungeon vaults, invoke your retribution ; the groans of your brave countrymen, trampled by tyranny, where they died for freedom, are clamourous for revenge !—Go, plant the banner of the green, on the summit of the Andes. May victory guide, and mercy ever follow it ;—if you should triumph, the consummation will be liberty ; and in such a contest, should you even perish, it will be as martyrs perish,

in the blaze of your own glory." Soon after this meeting, general D'Evereux, his staff, and other officers, who had remained behind, embarked for America, whither his troops had previously sailed. These foreign auxiliaries remained some time at Margaritta, from whence they proceeded to the main in season for the campaign of 1820.

After the close of the session of congress, president Bolivar repaired to the head-quarters of the army on the Apure, where he made the necessary arrangements for the approaching campaign. Before this opened, however, he proceeded to the capital of New Grenada, where, on the 8th of March, 1820, he published a proclamation to the people of Colombia, in which he congratulates them on the auspicious event of the union of the two countries, which he says, will cause them to be respected by foreign powers, who will admire their devotion to their country; and even cause Spain to acknowledge them as deserving the enjoyment of their rights.

"*Colombians*,—I promise to you, in the name of congress, that you shall be regenerated. Your institutions will reach high perfection—your tributes will be abolished—the restraints upon your liberty and enterprize will be destroyed—your virtues will be your patrimony, and capacity, courage, and virtue, will alone be considered and rewarded."

He concludes, by observing, that it had been the sole object of his whole life to form this free and independent republic of two families of brethren.

Bolivar, in his proclamation, intimated that there was a prospect of the war being soon terminated, and for the expulsion of the enemy, from the territories of the republic, he now directed all his exertions; and to hasten the movements of the different corps, which had been organized to act against the royalists in Venezuela, and in the northern and southern provinces of New Grenada, still in the possession of the Spaniards. The campaign commenced in April, 1820, by the capture of Rio de la Hacha by a combined attack of the land and naval forces of the republic, the former commanded by general Montilla, and the latter by admiral Brion. After this event, a detachment of this army was despatched to form a junction with the northern army of New Grenada, which was descending the Magdalena.

The southern army of New Grenada, commanded by the intrepid general Valdes, also opened the campaign with success. The enemy posted several hundred of his bravest troops under the traitor Lopez, at Paramo, where they waited the approach of the patriots. Lopez attacked the vanguard of the

republicans with great boldness, which was compelled to give way, when general Valdes ordered a charge to be made, with 250 men, of whieh 200 were British auxiliaries, which decided the action. The enemy sustained a loss in killed and prisoners of about 300. Lopez escaped with the remnant of his troops, in consequence of the cavalry of the patriots not being in a condition to pursue. Following up this success, Valdes pursued the enemy with great celerity, obtained several advantages, and finally drove the royalists out of the province of Popayan, of which the patriots took possession; the royalists fled into Quito, where they hoped to retrieve their losses.

CHAPTER VII.

Morillo proposes an armistice—writes to the congress and Bolivar—movement of the armies—the Colombians invest Carthagena by sea and land—an armistice concluded—revolution in Guayaquil—general D'Evereux—Morillo returns to Spain—succeeded by Morales—armistice expires—the liberator's proclamation—installaiton of the congress at Rosario de Cucuta—speech of the president—campaign commences—Coro captured—battle of Carabobo—its consequences—congress convenes—ratifies the union—flotilla of the royalists destroyed—Carthagena capitulates—army destined to liberate Quito—United States acknowledges the independence of Colombia—battle of Pinchincha—siege of Puerto Cabello—Mr. Zea's misnon to Europe—Spanish flotilla destroyed at lake Maracaibo—the town surrendered—Puerto Cabello surrenders to the patriots—installation of the congress—speech of the president—arrival of a minister from the United States—Bolivar's plan for liberating Peru—tregty with the United States—sessions of congress—message of the vice-president—grand confederacy of all the states—conclusion.

The great revolution that had taken place in Spain, which re-established the constitution of the Cortes of 1812, produced no effect on the war in America, until June, 1820, when general Morillo, agreeably to orders received from the constitutional government of Spain, issued a proclamation, proposing a suspension of hostilities predicated on the events which had taken place in Spain. On the 17th of June he addressed a letter to the congress, whom he styled "high and mighty lords," in which he states that he had received positive orders from the constitutional monarchs of the Spains to propose a just and generous accommodation, which should re-unite all the family, in order to enjoy the advantages of their political regeneration. He informs the congress that he has appointed Thomas Cires and Jose Domingo Duarte, as commissioners to treat with the congress, on principles honourable to both parties; and that he has given orders to his subalterns to suspend hostilities, and to remain at their several positions, and make no movement unless they are first attacked. He beseeches the congress to cast away from their remembrance, from that moment, as he does from his, the *odiousness of the war*, which had, unhappily, distracted their common country, and only to

think of the glory of a re-union of countrymen, kindred, and brethren. The congress was not in session when this communication was received; but they were convened for the purpose of considering it on the 13th of July, 1820, when the following decree was passed, and sent to Morillo as an answer to his communication by the president of congress:—

"The sovereign congress of Colombia, anxious to see peace re-established, will hear, with pleasure, the proposals which may be made on the part of the Spanish government, provided they shall have for their end the absolute acknowledgement of the entire sovereignty and independence of the republic of Colombia; and that they will not admit of any other overture, which shall not conform to this principle, proclaimed by the government, as well as by the people at different epochas."

On the 22d of June, general Morillo addressed a letter to president Bolivar, informing him that he had appointed Rodriguez Toro, and Gonzales Linares, as commissioners to negotiate terms of peace, and that he had given the necessary orders for the suspension of hostilities. Accompanying this despatch, was one from the Spanish general Torres. The reply of Bolivar, to Morillo, contains the most noble and dignified sentiments. After acknowledging the receipt of his communication, he says,—"The republic of Colombia most seriously congratulates itself on seeing the day on which liberty extends her beneficient influence over unhappy Spain, and to see her ancient metropolis treading in the steps of Colombia, and in the path of reason. The people of Colombia, more than ten years ago, determined to consecrate the last of its members to the only cause worthy of the sacrifice of peace—that is the cause of an oppressed country; and confiding in the sacredness of their cause, in the most solemn manner on the 20th of November, 1818, resolved to *combat, perpetually, against all exterior domination, and not to be reconciled to peace but upon the recognition of absolute independence.* I take the liberty to enclose to you, sir, the fundamental law, which prescribes the only basis upon which our respective governments can enter into negotiations. With great satisfaction I have the honour to offer to you, sir, this frank and open declaration, as the sole preliminary to any transaction between the two independent governments, and as a testimony of the rectitude which characterizes our liberal and representative system. The love of peace, so consonant with those who defend the cause of justice, will never be satisfied or silenced, even by the plaintive clamours of humanity no longer immolated on a theatre of so many horrors. Your excellency may depend, that neither re-

sentiments, nor passions, nor private interests, which your excellency appears to fear may prevent peace, will be in any way influential on me—one voice, only, is heard resounding through Colombia, and it is the voice of nature, claiming the rights of humanity, so long denied, and until now trampled under the feet of a despotism, which has converted those beautiful regions into vast deserts, and desolated every inch of ground under Spanish domination."

He informs Morillo that he could not accede, entirely, to the amnesty which he proposes, until he knew the nature of the negotiations entrusted to Toro and Linares, who, he says, would be treated with the respect due to their sacred character.

Early in the season, Bolivar took a central position at Cucuta, where he could direct and observe the operations of the several corps under his command as general in chief, and be enabled to afford assistance, where it might most be wanted, or most efficacious. The army of the north, under general Urdaneta, which descended the Magdalena, captured Mompox, and proceeded to the coast, where it formed a junction with that division of the army under general Montilla, which had previously been despatched for that purpose. Admiral Brion, with the naval force, took possession of Savanilla, and general Montilla laid siege to Carthagena. General Monagas, commanding a corps of cavalry, defeated the royalists in June, at Guire, in Barcelona; their commander Lozana was slain, and a great part of the enemy made prisoners. General Zarza, also, a commander of cavalry, surprized and defeated a small division of the royalists on the 7th of June, the whole of the enemy being killed or made prisoners. The central divisions of the republican army, in the month of October, 1820, entered the provinces of Mirida and Truxillo, and drove the royalists before them, who, being pressed hard in all directions, were obliged to abandon those provinces.

The republic this year had a large number of troops in the field, well equipped, and commanded by experienced generals; and although no decisive battle took place, the arms of the republic were almost every where successful, and much was done towards the liberation of the country, notwithstanding the proposition for a suspension of hostilities, calculated to damp the spirit of operations. After an unsuccessful attempt at negotiation by the commissioners, in the month of August, an armistice or treaty for the suspension of hostilities was concluded and ratified on the 26th of November. This treaty provides that hostilities shall cease the moment of its ratification, on land, in the American seas in thirty days, and in nine-

ty days in the seas of Europe. It defines the limits of the territories which each party is to occupy; provides for disbanding some of the guerrillas; for promoting a free communication between the territories occupied by the different parties; and contains an article binding both governments, in the event of peace not being concluded, to form a treaty for the prosecution of the war according to the laws of nations, to prevent, in future, the horrors and cruelty with which the contest had been characterized. This armistice was to continue six months, with a provision for renewing it for a longer period; hostilities, however, might be commenced within that time, by giving forty days' notice to the adverse party. This suspension of hostilities was proposed by Bolivar, at a time when the troops of the republic were every where victorious affording the strongest presages of the successful result of the campaign. But the president, as humane and magnanimous as he is brave, as long as there was any prospect of peace, was anxious to stop the effusion of blood, which had so profusely flown, during this long and ferocious contest.

The cause of the revolution was gaining ground, not only by the success of the arms of the republic, but by the spontaneous struggles of the inhabitants. In the month of October, before the conclusion of the armistice, the inhabitants in Guayaquil revolted against the Spanish authorities; and with little loss, on either side, succeeded in overthrowing the royal government, and uniting the province to the republic. The success of this revolution in Guayaquil, extended its influence to the adjacent districts of Ambato, Riobamba, Quaranda, and Tucunga, in all of which the inhabitants rose against the royal authorities, and liberated themselves from the dominion of tyrants. In the eastern section of the republic, the patriots, also, obtained possession of Barcelona, in the month of October; and all the northern part of New Grenada, with the exception of the city of Carthagena, and the isthmus of Panama, was liberated at the close of the year 1820, or the beginning of 1821. Maracaibo was, also, soon added to the republic, the Spanish authority being overthrown by the spontaneous efforts of the inhabitants.

Near the close of this year, the congress published a manifesto to the people of Colombia, recapitulating the events of the revolution, and the atrocities of the Spanish chiefs during the war; and which contains the reasons why Colombia ought not to accept of the proffered terms of peace, but to insist on the acknowledgment of her independence, as the only admissible basis of negotiation. Among these reasons is the abil-

ity, approaching almost to certainty, of the republic to maintain its independence.—

"On commencing hostilities, Colombia neither had great armies, nor the materials to form them; to-day she has skilful generals, expert officers, veteran soldiers inured to war, and plenty of arms and ammunition.

"Many citizens were then afraid to be soldiers; now they are all in arms, and delight in being so. Colombians are no longer what they were; and the population of Colombia are a new people, regenerated by a ten years contest, in which have disappeared those physical and moral disqualifications that render her independence doubtful, and are become worthy and fit to govern themselves, instead of obeying another's will, or any sovereignty but their own."

The Irish legion of general D'Evereux rendered very important services in the campaign of 1820, notwithstanding many of them became dissatisfied and left the service, and that great mortality prevailed among them in consequence of their being unaccustomed to a tropical climate. One division of this legion landed in Rio de la Hacha, in March, 1820, and formed a part of the army of general Montilla, which in the course of the campaign liberated the provinces of Rio de la Hacha, Carthagena and Santa Martha. In April, 1821, general D'Evereux* issued an address to what remained of the Irish legion. He says, "Although unable to stem the torrent of insubordination and disaffection, which unfortunately swept away so great a portion of our force, you have on all occasions in which the enemies of Colombia have presented you the opportunity, evinced your native courage, and added fresh laurels to the crown of Ireland's fame. It gives me sincere pleasure to know, that your merits are duly appreciated by

* General D'Evereux, although a native of Ireland, was a citizen of the United States, and resided at Baltimore for several years. He devoted himself to the cause of South American independence, in a manner as disinterested as La Fayette did to that of North America. In 1815, he conveyed succors to Carthagena when besieged by Morillo, and his services during that siege obtained for him the thanks and friendship of Bolivar. Finding that nothing could then be done in Venezuela, he went to Buenos Ayres, where he gave to the patriots a large supply of munitions of war. He received a commission of general in the service of Buenos Ayres, and finally returned to the United States as an agent of that government. He afterwards went to his native country to raise troops for the Colombian service. From his distinguished and patriotic services, he is justly entitled to be regarded as the La Fayette of the South American revolution.

the governor general of these provinces, his excellency Marianna Montilla. The possession of the provinces of Rio de la Hacha, Carthagena, Santa Martha and Maracaibo, has been the result of the campaign of 1820; a campaign, of which our legion was the origin."

General Morillo, after the ratification of the armistice in November, 1820, retired from the command of the Spanish armies in America, and returned to Spain, with both the honours* and execrations of the country he had ravaged. Gen. Morales and La Torre succeeded to the command of the Spanish forces, who, refusing to extend the armistice, both parties made preparations in the month of April, 1821, for the renewal of hostilities.

On the 17th of April, Bolivar issued a proclamation to the army, styling it the liberating army. "Peace," he says, "was to have been the fruits of that armistice which is now broken; but Spain regarded with indifference the afflictions to which we have been exposed through her neglect." He says that the remnant of the Spanish force cannot resist twenty-five provinces which have been liberated from slavery; that the nation expects from the army its entire emancipation, and also that in future it will religiously fulfil the duties of humanity, that the war may no longer wear a ferocious character. On the same day he addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of Colombia, in which he states that it is more than a year since Spain had enjoyed a representative government; yet she had taken no steps to abate her tyranny in America or withdraw her armies; that the republic had sent ministers to Madrid to negotiate a peace, without success, owing to the insincerity of the Spanish government, and that the renewal of hostilities is the only means of putting an end to the dreadful calamities which afflict the country. On the 25th of April, the president issued another proclamation to the army, in which he says that in three days hostilities will commence:—

"Soldiers! Every presage is in favour of a victorious issue, because your courage cannot any longer be resisted, you have already done so much that almost nothing remains for you to do; but I must apprise you that the government expects from you to display compassion with your courage, and that every infringement which may be committed of the regulations of war, will subject the guilty to capital punishment;

* Morillo was created count of Carthagena for his services in America.

if the enemy should disregard these regulations, we shall not imitate them; the glory of Colombia shall not be stained with blood dishonourably shed."

As is usual in similar cases, each party charged the other with violating the armistice, and of being the cause why peace was not concluded. The Spanish general addressed a proclamation to his troops, in which he asserts that the government of Colombia had rejected peace, which was offered on the most liberal and honourable terms, and had violated the armistice. This called forth a reply from Bolivar, addressed to the Spanish army, in which he assures them that their general is mistaken, and charges the continuance of the war to their government; he also assures them that his army will observe most religiously the treaty entered into for the regulation of the war, and that a capital punishment is already decreed against every person who shall infringe it.

Bolivar was at this time at Varinas, which was the headquarters of the liberating army.

On the 6th of May, the general congress of Colombia was installed at Rosario de Cucuta, agreeably to the fundamental law; and on the 10th, the president addressed a communication to the congress, resigning the executive power. He says:—

"The act of the installation of the general congress of Colombia, composed of the representatives of twenty-two free provinces, has consummated the most ardent wishes of my heart. The republic, founded on the complete union of the representatives of the people of Cundinamarca and Venezuela, is now destined to accomplish that liberty and prosperity which every free people have the right to secure; and I have at length had the good fortune to see that day when the only legitimate depositaries of the sovereign authority of the people, are already in the happy exercise of their sacred functions—From this moment I consider myself exonerated from the charge of the executive power, with which it has been the pleasure of my country to entrust me."

He declares his adhesion to the authority of the nation, and his entire submission to the congress, and the institutions and laws which they were about to establish; but says, that if the congress should again insist on investing him with the presidency, he must protest against it, and repeats the reasons he had before urged, that the military profession, in his opinion, was incompatible with the office of chief magistrate; and that now the danger was past, he did not wish any longer to endure the insinuations and reproaches of his personal enemies,

who accused him of ambitious designs. The congress, by their president, F. Restrepo, now secretary of Foreign affairs, replied to the communication of Bolivar; and whilst they acknowledge the weight of the reasons urged by him, which they say they have not time then fully to deliberate upon, they urge in eloquent language the imperious necessity of his continuing at the head of the republic, and add, that they are persuaded he will make this additional sacrifice, and thus furnish a new proof of his ardent zeal for the welfare of his country. This appeal of the national representation, could not be resisted, and the illustrious Bolivar consented to remain at the head of the government, as well as at the head of the armies.

In the month of May, the campaign was opened by the capture of Coro, by the division of the liberating army under general Urdaneta, on the eleventh of the month. On the 15th, another division of the army, commanded by general Bermudez, took possession of Caraccas; but this was premature, for not being supported, he was compelled, by Morales, to evacuate the place on the twenty-sixth, without much loss, however, on either side.

In the month of June both parties were concentrating their forces, and seemed to be preparing not only to close the campaign, but to decide the fate of the contest by a general action. The head-quarters of the royalists was on the plains of Carabobo, where they concentrated most of their forces, amounting to 6,000 men, commanded by Morales and La Torre. The divisions of the liberating army were concentrated on the fields of Tinaquillo; the first division, was composed of 1,500 cavalry, and the valiant British battalion of Apure, commanded by general Paez; the second division consisted of the second brigade of the guards, the battalions of Tyradore, Boyaca and Vargas and the squadron of Sagrada, commanded by general Sedeno; the third division consisted of the first brigade of the guards, with the battalions of rifles and grenadiers, conquerors of Boyaca, and the regiments of horse, under the command of colonel Plaza. This brave army, headed by Bolivar in person on the morning of the 23d of June, marched towards the enemy, and early the next day, continued its march through the defiles of the mountains, which separated it from the enemy's camp; and by a rapid but orderly movement, it reached the plains of Carabobo by eleven o'clock, and defiled its left in front of the enemy, within reach of their fire. In its march, it had to pass a rivulet, exposed to the fire of the whole royal army, on an inaccessible height,

which would admit but one person to pass at a time. The action was commenced by the brave general Paez, who with two battalions of his division, and a regiment of cavalry, attacked the enemy's right wing, with such resolution and intrepidity, that in half an hour, it was totally routed, and cut to pieces, which decided the fate of the day, and it may almost be said, of the war. The second division, except some of its light troops, was not engaged, in consequence of local barriers; but its brave general, Sedeno, impatient at the impossibility of bringing his division into action, engaged a party of infantry alone, and was killed in the midst of the enemy, fighting in the most heroic manner. The British battalion, commanded by colonel Farriar, distinguished itself for its bravery, and lost many valuable officers; and the valour and activity of all the troops, led on by the invincible Paez, was never surpassed. The defeat of the enemy was complete; their entire army was annihilated; only 400 men saving themselves by taking shelter in Puerto Cabello. The fugitives were pursued with great ardour as far as Valencia, where the Spanish general, La Torre, was overtaken, with a column, which he had formed after the defeat, and retreated on that city; this column was put to flight, and took refuge in Puerto Cabello, whither colonel Wrangel was ordered with his division, to besiege the place. The forces of the republic, were about the same in number as those of the Spaniards, but only a part were engaged. Their loss in killed and wounded, was about 400, including general Sedeno, colonel Plaza, and many other brave offices. As a reward for the distinguished bravery and services of general Paez, in this great victory, the president Bolivar, on the battle ground, appointed him general in chief of the army. This was the second decisive victory which had been obtained by Bolivar on the plains of Carabobo; and if the victory of Boyaca, was the Saratoga, this was the Yorktown of the Colombian revolution.

Having ordered colonel Wrangel to lay siege to Puerto Cabello, and another division of troops, under Heras to pursue the Spanish colonel Tello, who had been despatched from Carabobo to Philipe, at the head of three battalions, and a regiment of cavalry; Bolivar marched towards Caraccas, which place he entered on the 29th of June, the royalists having abandoned it on the 28th, on the approach of the patriots. On entering his native city, after having rescued it the third time from the dominion of tyrants, Bolivar was received by his fellow citizens, assembled in immense crowds, with the transports of joy, which the occasion, calling forth so many

recollections of past sufferings and present hopes, was calculated to inspire. The president addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of the city, in which he observes that a decisive victory has closed the war in Venezuela, and that only one fortified place remains to be subdued; and adds, that peace, far more glorious than victory, will soon put the Colombians in the possession of all places, and of all the hearts of their enemies.

In the month of July, the congress assembled again at Cucuta, and on the 12th, after a full deliberation, solemnly ratified the fundamental law, and re-enacted its provisions. They decreed a national anniversary festival, to be held on the 25th, 26th, and 27th of December, for the celebration, first, of the emancipation and entire independence of the people of Colombia; second, of the union of the republic and the establishment of the constitution; and, third, the great victories by which these blessings have been established. The decree ratifying the fundamental law of union, is signed by all the members of the congress. At this session, the congress also passed a decree for the abolition of slavery, which we have considered in another place.

The last of June, the squadron of Colombia, under Brion, entered the harbour of Carthagena, which place was invested by land and water, where it engaged the flotilla of the royalists, and in a severe action, succeeded in capturing four of the enemy's launches, and in destroying the remainder. The Spaniards suffered a loss of two hundred men. The city, however, from its great natural and artificial strength, held out until the 23d of September, when it capitulated. Shortly after, Cumana also surrendered to general Bermudez, which left no part of the present territory of Colombia in the possession of the Spaniards, except the fortress of Puerto Cabello, the isthmus of Panama, and Quito.

In the month of May, the army of the republic under general Sucre, destined to act against the royalists in Quito, arrived in Guayaquil, which frustrated the plans of the enemy, who was intending to invade that province, which had revolted against the Spanish authorities, and liberated itself the preceding October, and established a junta for its immediate government. After the arrival of Sucre, the junta, on the 15th of May, sent to Bolivar a communication, expressing their desire and expectations of being regarded as a part of the republic, and saying that their only object in throwing off the Spanish authority, was to place that province under the auspices of Colombia. Panama declared itself independent

of the authority of Spain, on the 15th of December, and immediatly sent deputies to the government of Colombia, to announce the pleasing event, which at the same time gave them freedom, and connected their destinies with those of the Colombian republic.

The year 1821, will ever be auspicious in the annals of Colombia; its arms were every where successful, and crowned with one of the most splendid and important victories in modern times; it witnessed the final destruction of the power of Spain, and the liberation of the whole territory of the republic, except Quito. But not more glorious in the success of her arms, brilliant as that was, than in establishing her political institutions, and the consolidation of the republic. Whilst the armies of Colombia were defeating its enemies in the field, and liberating its provinces, the congress were ratifying the union, and establishing political institutions, founded on the great principles of the rights of man, and calculated to secure, and give the utmost value to the blessings of independence and freedom, which had been so gloriously won in the field, the fruits of twelve years of barbarous war, and an hundred battles. The congress continued their deliberations, and on the 30th of August, adopted the constitution of the government, which has been considered, and whose highest praise, perhaps is, that the government has been administered under it for four years with stability and wonderful success, considering the condition of the country, impoverished and torn to pieces by all the evils, miseries and horrors of war. The constitution was not only framed this year, but the government completely organized under it; and the illustrious Bolivar, now the acknowledged father of his country, was elected president, and general Santander vice president. A law was also passed, for securing the liberty of the press, which declares that it ought to be as free as the faculty of speech itself; a resolution was likewise adopted at this session, in honour of certain patriots abroad, who had taken a deep interest in the independence of Colombia. Of the number was Lord Holland and Sir Robert Wilson in England, and Mr. Clay and colonel Duane in the United States.

The cause of the revolution having made such astonishing progress the last three years, the independence of Colombia being in fact established, and the destinies of the republic so glorious at home, it at last began to be viewed in a more favourable light by foreign powers. From every consideration of sympathy, national honour and interest, it was fit that the government of the United States should take the lead. It was

so. On the 8th of March, 1822, president Monroe communicated to congress a message, in which, after alluding to the epochs of the revolution, and the progress of the war, he says, "that when we regard the great length of time which this war has been prosecuted, the complete success which has attended it in favour of the provinces; the present condition of the parties, and the utter inability of Spain to produce any change in it, we are compelled to conclude that its fate is settled, and that the provinces which have declared their independence are in the enjoyment of it, and ought to be recognised." This message, and the accompanying documents, were referred to a committee, who made a long report recommending the recognition of the independence of the Mexican and South American republics: which was adopted with great unamity by congress. Not long afterwards, ministers were appointed to Colombia, Mexico, and Buenos Ayres.

The campaign of 1822, was destined for the liberation of Quito. During the past year, general Sucre had maintained himself in that quarter, confirmed the independence of Guayaquil, and checked the designs of the Spaniards. The destruction of the royal army on the plains of Carabobo, and the liberation of all the northern territory of the republic, enabled Bolivar to direct his whole attention to the expulsion of the Spaniards from the southern provinces. The army in the south under Sucre was re-enforced by the troops which could be spared from other situations, to the amount of 7,000 men, and the illustrious president placed himself at its head. Both parties having at length concentrated their forces, the campaign and the fate of Quito, was decided at the great battle fought at Pinchincha, about the first of June, 1822. The good fortune of Bolivar still attended him, and the arms of the republic were again crowned with a most signal victory, which annihilated the power of the royalists in the south, rescued Quito from the dominion of foreign tyranny, and connected its destinies with Colombia. This splendid victory was in a great measure gained by general Sucre, a young but most gallant officer, and procured for him afterwards, the station of commandant general of that department. After the victory of Pinchincha, Bolivar, at the head of his victorious liberating army, entered the city of Quito, amidst the acclamations and rejoicings of the people.

On the Atlantic coast, the Spanish still possessed Puerto Cabello, whither the remnants of their forces were collected. The place was closely besieged by the Colombians, under general Paez. Morales, having equipped and manned a flotilla

superior to that of the patriots, commenced a system of predatory warfare on the coast. He made a sudden irruption into the province of Coro, where he routed a body of Colombian troops, who sustained a loss of several hundred men. He laid waste the country before him and seemed to be influenced by the principle of destroying what he could not hold or reclaim. Encouraged by this success he proceeded against Maracaibo, which was obliged to surrender, and in the true spirit of piracy and plunder, Morales seized all the private property within the reach of his power. Exulting in his success, he published the most barbarous decrees, which would have disgraced an Attila or Tamerlane. But fortunately the destructive career of this barbarian was checked before he had accomplished any thing of importance in a military point of view. Some apprehensions, however, were felt for the safety of La Guayra and Caraccas, and great exertions were made by the Colombians to equip a fleet at the former place superior to Morales'. Commodore Daniels was appointed to command it. The Spaniards were defeated with great loss and driven out of Coro, and escaped to Curracoa, but still held possession of Maracaibo and Puerto Cabello. The principal fort of the latter place on the main land capitulated to general Paez, and this rendered the garrison entirely dependent on receiving supplies by sea, which, however, it was enabled to do as long as the royalists maintained a naval superiority.

Early in the year 1822, Mr. Zea was sent by the government of the republic as ambassador to France; and on the 8th of April he presented a long communication to the French minister of foreign affairs, and to the ministers of the other powers resident at the French court, urging the grounds and reasons for recognizing the independence of Colombia, which was returned unanswered. From France, Mr. Zea went to England, where a public dinner was given him by the friends of South American independence; he afterwards, in March, 1822, negotiated a large loan in London for Colombia. The Dutch and Portuguese admitted the vessels of Colombia into their ports in Europe and America, but did not formally acknowledge its independence. A minister was sent by Colombia to Lisbon to treat with that government respecting the boundary of the republic of Colombia on the Brazils. The war in Colombia was now drawing to a close. At the commencement of the year 1823, the Spaniards continued in possession of the fortress of Puerto Cabello and of Maracaibo; but the naval force of the republic was so augmented as to be

in a condition to dispute with the enemy, the mastery of the sea. General Padilla was appointed to command the Colombian squadron, which, on the 23d of July, 1823, attacked the Spanish flotilla commanded by commodere Laborde, in the lake Maracaibo, and in a desperate and sanguinary action, totally destroyed it. The Colombians captured twelve vessels; three were blown up, and two driven on shore and destroyed, and not a vessel of the enemy escaped. The spaniards had about 250 men killed and wounded, and 1,500 made prisoners. Their commander, Laborde, made his escape in a boat, and got on board of his frigate outside of the castle. The destruction of the Spanish squadron rendered it impossible for Morales to maintain himself long in Maracaibo, and accordingly, he surrendered with all his troops to the patriot general Marique, commanding the troops investing the place on the 3d of August. General Bermudez sailed on board of the ship Bolivar, from La Guayra a short time before, to take command of the besieging army, but the enemy surrendered before he arrived at Maracaibo. Notwithstanding, the atrocities and barbarities of the savage Morales, which had fairly outlawed him from the pale of humanity, and the protection and rights of the laws of war, he and all his men were treated humanely, and permitted to embark for Cuba.

The last act, in the bloody drama, now only remained to be performed; the torch of war. which, for twelve years, had desolated the fairest portion of the globe—"a country blessed by nature, but cursed by man," now only shed its hideous but flickering glare, from the ramparts of Puerto Cabello. But these last gleams were soon to be extinguished. The destruction of the squadron of the enemy enabled the patriots to invest Puerto Cabello by sea, as well as land, which cut off all communication, and deprived it of supplies. General La Torre, however, with true Spanish obstinacy, held out to the last extremity; but was obliged to capitulate about the first of December. This event, which terminated the long and desolating war, which has given to Colombia existence, independence, and liberty, was announced to the nation by a proclamation from the vice-president, general Santander, exercising the executive functions, dated the 9th of December, 1823.

"Colombians! I announce to you your country entirely free from the enemies, who have so obstinately presumed to oppose the immutable decrees of Providence. The Spanish flag which lately floated on the walls of Puerto Cabello, has been rent in pieces by the valiant troops of the republic, and the tri-coloured flag planted thereon in its stead.

"No longer does an enemy exist for us to contend with.—The Colombian territory is entire, and the code of happiness and equality protects all who inhabit the country of Bolivar.

"Colombians, may you enjoy the reward of your constancy, and of your undivided triumphs: they secure the reign of liberty in America, and enable you to offer a sacred asylum to freemen throughout the world. To be a citizen of Colombia, is to belong to a nation possessing liberty, constancy, and valour."

We have passed over some civil occurrences, to close the events of the war. The first congress, the elections to which, had taken place since the adoption of the constitution, was installed at Bogota, in April, 1823, on which interesting occasion the vice-president, Santander, charged with the executive power, laid before the national representation a long and highly interesting message, containing a complete exposition of the internal condition of Colombia, and the state of its foreign relations. On the latter subject, he speaks of their relations with the United States, in the following complimentary terms:—

"The government of the United States has given a sublime example of justice in the solemn acknowledgment of the independence and sovereignty of the states of South America. That nation, the cradle of liberty, has seen, with satisfaction, this act so justly acquired by policy and sound reason, and the enlightened members of its government, by this noble conduct, have added a new lustre to the glory of a free people and to themselves. An agent from the United States, at present, resides in this Capital, who has communicated to me the friendly sentiments of his government, and a desire to commence and consolidate an intercourse with the republic. The executive has hastened to testify our sentiments through the means of a Minister Plenipotentiary, thereby preparing for our future negotiations."

He speaks of the unsuccessful attempt to treat with Spain, and says, that the failure of that negotiation induced the government to establish solid relations with the independent governments of the new world, and it had proposed the establishment of an American confederacy, uniting the political interests of the vast territories separated from Spain, and mutually guaranteeing their protection. "The arms of the republic," says the executive, "have been covered with glory wherever they have carried liberty and law, and even in misfortune, their honour has been untarnished." The message unfolds the deplorable condition of the national revenue

which, it says, requires a *new creation*; and urges on congress to provide means to pay the defenders of the country; and it invokes the national representation to recognize the public debts, provide for paying the interest of them, and to establish national faith and credit. The improvement of the organization of the regular army, and of the militia; the preservation and increase of the navy, and the fortifications, are recommended to the attention of congress, as well as the interests of commerce, agriculture, and the mines, neglected and almost destroyed by the war.

On the 9th of December, 1823, Mr. Anderson, minister of the United States to Colombia, arrived at Bogota, the seat of government; and on the following day, with solemn and appropriate ceremonies and honours, he was presented to the acting executive of the republic, and addressed to him the following noble sentiments, honourable alike to himself and his country:—

"Mr. *President*: The president of the United States, animated by an ardent wish to continue the relations of perfect harmony and generous friendship between our respective countries, has commanded me to give the most satisfactory expression to the liberal feelings which he, as well as the people of the United States, must ever entertain towards the institutions of freedom in every country. I tender to you his anxious wishes for the restoration of peace to this republic, and prosperity to its citizens. My own admiration of the liberal institutions of Colombia, and of the glorious manner in which they have been created and sustained, affords the surest pledge of the sincerity of my sentiments. If this mission shall have the happy effect of giving solidity and duration to the harmonious feelings of our countrymen, it will be a source of unaffected joy to every friend of free government.

"It is on this continent, and in this age, Mr. President, that man has been awakened to the long lost truth, that, under heaven, he is capable of governing himself; that God has not given to him in vain the part and intellect of a human being. Every motive that can operate on a good man, urges him to cherish the institutions founded on the developement of these truths, and to nourish the principles which can alone sustain them. The sublimest spectacle that we can enjoy, is to contemplate our fellow man explaining and teaching, by reason and argument, the truth, that "*voluntary agreement is the only legitimate source of political power.*" When a nation is penetrated with this truth, its liberty is placed beyond the reach of force or fraud.

"Under such governments, we may fondly hope to see the people of this continent devoted only to those acts which give comfort and enjoyment to domestic life, and the highest polish to intellectual improvement. It has long, indeed, been the doctrine of despots, that the arts of peace are too limited to fill the employments of man; and their sincerity, in this doctrine, has been manifested by the slaughter of millions. Let it, then, be the high duty of those who guide the destinies of the American republics, by abstaining from every hostile collision, to demonstrate the falsehood of a principle so mortifying to good men, and consolatory only to tyrants. Time has not yet, indeed, permitted us to see, in its full extent, the effect which the principles of government evolved on the American continent, may have on the habits or practices of man; but enough has already been disclosed to cheer the friends of peace, and to animate them to new vigilance in cherishing those principles, which, abjuring war and blood-shed, lead only to peace.

"In conclusion, let me say, that, while the establishment of this republic gives to the world a most brillaint example of the triumph of valour and of virtue, so may it continue to succeeding generations, an illustrious monument of the omnipotence of truth and a good cause."

Having concluded, Mr. *Anderson* delivered to the vice-president his credential letters of minister plenipotentiary of the United States; and his excellency, on reading them, congratulated him on his safe arrival in the capital of the republic, saying; among other things, that, "as the United States had always been the great luminary which the inhabitants of this part of America had held in view during their conflicts, so now they, and particularly the people and government of the republic of Colombia, would delight to express to the classic land of American liberty the high esteem which they had ever entertained for its government and political institutions, and their desire to improve and draw, still more closely, the friendly relations which happily exist between the two nations."

This was an interesting occasion to the two republics, particularly to Colombia, Mr. Anderson being the first minister received from any foreign power; as the other independent governments, engaged in the same glorious cause, can hardly be regarded as such. This act of amity and official connection, between the two great republics in the new world; whose emancipation and independence were acquired by similar struggles and sacrifices; whose institutions are founded on the same principles of liberty and justice; both free—both asylums for the oppressed of the old world; one flourishing

and powerful, and the other enjoying, in prospect, the high destinies which its sister republic has attained, was an occasion of the deepest interest, and calculated to inspire the most pleasing sensations, and the most exalted hopes, in the bosom of every friend of liberty.

After the glorious termination of the war in Quito, in 1823, Bolivar, at the earnest solicitation of the people of Peru, proceeded with a part of the liberating and victorious army of Colombia, into the territory of that country, to emancipate that interesting portion of America. The groans of the oppressed and suffering inhabitants of Peru, awakened the most tender sympathies of their brethren in Colombia; but none felt more sensibly for their sufferings than the illustrious liberator, not more distinguished for his bravery than for his humaity and magnanimity. He considered himself, not only as the liberator of Colombia, but of all Spanish America. He resolved to afford succour to the Peruvians, and to overthrow there, as he had done in his own country, an odious foreign tyranny; both humanity and policy dictated this course. The people and government of Colombia approved and seconded this noble and patriotic design, and a large body of troops were placed at the disposal of the president to march into a neighbouring state; not as an enemy, but as friends and benefactors; not as invaders, but as liberators; not to conquer, but to emancipate the people, and break with their arms the chains which enslaved them. The events of this expedition and its glorious success belong to the history of Peru. To prosecute this war, for the emancipation of a neighbouring state, the Colombian government obtained a loan in London of twenty millions of dollars; such solidity had the national credit already acquired.

In the Spring of 1824, the congress of Colombia passed a decree for the defence of the country, directing the executive to raise fifty thousand men in addition to the troops then in service; but to diminish the number as circumstances might require. The reasons given for this decree, were the establishment of an absolute government in Spain, which left no hope of its recognizing the independence of the American states, and the avowed designs by the European cabinets united under the name of holy alliance, which the congress says ought to awake the attention of the free nations of the new world, as the principles on which their independence and institutions are founded, are proscribed by these allied despots.

On the 3d day of October, a treaty, or convention of amity and commerce, was concluded and signed at Bogota, between the United States and the republic of Colombia, by Mr. An-

derson, our minister, and the vice president of Colombia, and Pedro Gual, secretary of foreign affairs.

The first article provides that "there shall be a perfect, firm, and inviolable peace and sincere friendship between the United States of America and the republic of Colombia, in all the extent of their possessions and territories, and between their people and citizens respectively, without distinction of persons or places."

The second article provides that if either government grant any favour to any other nation, as to commerce or to navigation, the same shall immediately be enjoyed by the other party to this treaty. The third article allows the citizens of one republic to frequent the coast and countries of the other, to reside and trade therein, and to pay no greater duties and charges than the most favoured nation, and to enjoy all the rights and exemptions in commerce and navigation, which are enjoyed by the most favoured nations. The Merchants, commanders of vessels, and other citizens, of one nation, residing temporarily for business in the ports or other places of the other, are to be treated as citizens of the country in which they reside. There are numerous articles of less importance. The treaty is to remain in force for twelve years from the time of its ratification. The respective ratifications were exchanged at Washington on the 27th day of May, 1825, by Mr. Brent, chief clerk of the department of state, and Jose Maria Salazar, minister plenipotentiary of the republic of Colombia. This, the first treaty between the two republics, is founded on principles of perfect reciprocity, and will be equally and highly advantageous to both nations; and, we trust, long remain the basis of the commercial and friendly intercourse between them, which will be continually and rapidly increasing.

A convention has also been concluded between the two republics, to put an end to the horrible slave trade.

During the year 1824, the executive of Hayti sent an agent to Bogota, to propose a treaty of defensive alliance between the Colombian and the Haytien governments which was not acted on by the executive, but referred to congress, who did not recommend the conclusion of such a treaty.

Colombia acknowledged the independence and sovereignty of Guatamala, and an accredited minister from that republic resides in Bogota.

The constitutional congress of Colombia commenced its third session at the capital the first of January, 1825. A long and satisfactory message was delivered by the vice presi-

dent, exhibiting the tranquility and increasing prosperity of the country.

"The congress," says the executive, "may remain satisfied that our means of defence are most abundant, and whatever enterprize may be attempted by Spain, will only end in her disgrace, and add to the lustre of our arms.

"Our relations with the American governments are on the footing of friendship and good intelligence, that ought ever to exist between states maintaining the same cause. The assistance we have afforded Peru has produced such an important change in that county, that her independence can no longer be matter of doubt."

In speaking of the United States, he observes:—

"With the United States we maintain the most friendly and cordial relations. You will have before you in a short time, for your examination and approbation, the treaty of peace, friendship, navigation and commerce, that the executive has concluded with the government of those states.

"Colombia will be proud of having been the first of the old Spanish American states that has presented itself to the world, united by means of public treaties with a nation pre-eminently favored by the genius of Liberty. You will likewise receive, for examination, the Convention which has been settled with the same States, to put an end to the horrible slave trade; our laws have declared against that execrable commerce, and on this basis the executive regulated its conduct. The law of the 21st of July, of the 11th year prohibits the introduction of slaves: the law regulating cruizers declares all vessels found trafficking in slaves in the waters within the jurisdiction of the republic, to be lawful prizes; but as there are no punishments for the infraction of the law, and it being for the benefit of the human race, that the authority of the law regulating cruizers should be extended it appears to the executive that this convention with the United States supplies this deficiency."

This interesting and able document concludes with the following flattering recapitulation:

"This is the present state of our republic, in every branch of its administration. Friendship and the best disposition with the American and foreign governments—regularity in treaties and conventions—order and tranquility in the interior —respect and submission to the laws—a free press—the increase of public education—well founded hopes of improving the national wealth—an army covered with glory, consecrated entirely to the cause of liberty and independence; and suffi-

cient resources to meet any event, and to sustain its dignity, government, and laws. It is for you to remove the obstacles that impede the rapid progress of this republic to happiness and prosperity, and to reform those defects which public opinion pointed out, and which you acknowledge to exist. If we cast our eyes back on the period when the code of laws was first published, and recollect what Colombia was then, we shall perceive with agreeable surprise, that we have made a rapid stride, and conquered vast difficulties. This ought to animate us to prosecute our designs with the greatest zeal and patriotism. The executive firmly believes that these virtues exist in the legislative body; and you, I hope, will have sufficient confidence in me to believe, that I shall afford all the assistance that the experience of administration may have placed in my power; and above all, I shall be extremely punctual in the execution of your wise deliberations."

Among the important laws passed this session, is one completing the territorial divisions of the republic; dividing it into twelve departments and thirty-seven provinces, which has been noticed in speaking of the government.

Among the noble projects of Colombia, or perhaps we ought to say of Bolivar, is that of forming a general confederacy, composed of all the states of what was formerly Spanish America; and having the same origin, bound by the same interests, and threatened with the same dangers, it seems just that they should have a common destiny, and wise laws, reciprocally to support and defend each other. The object of this confederacy is to unite the resources and means of the several independent states for the general security; for the defence of their independence and liberty; to strengthen the ties of amity betwixt them, uniting them as members of the same family. The plan has been approved of by Mexico, Peru and Chile, which states have concluded treaties whth Colombia, to carry it into execution. This plan is highly honourable to Colombia, which possesses greater power and a more commanding attitude than any of the other independant states: but instead of her attempting to make use of these advantages, to become the arbitress of what was Spanish America, her only ambition seems to be, *to do most for the common cause*, to employ her power and resources for the liberation of all America, and by her example and counsels; by her assistance and friendly conduct, to unite the several states in the bonds of a family compact, which will insure the independence and liberty of all, and promote their general prosperity. Most noble ambition! worthy the high destinies which await Colombia! wor-

thy the illustrious fame of her founder, the invincible soldier of liberty, to whom history will award the rare but distinguished honour of having emancipated a greater portion of the globe than the most renowned heroes ever enslaved.

HISTORY

AND PRESENT STATE OF

PERU.

CHAPTER VIII.

Extent and boundaries of Lower Peru—its natural features—mountains and waters—civil divisions—intendancies—geographical view of—principal towns—Lima—extent and boundaries of Upper Peru—civil divisions—geographical view of the intendancies—principal towns—Potosi—climate—soil and natural productions—animals—population—commerce—government.

The republic of Lower Peru extends from Tumbez, in latitude 3° 30′ south, to the Cordillera of Vilcanota, in latitude 14° 30′ in the interior, and to the province of Atacama in Upper Peru, in about 20° 30′ south, on the coast of the Pacific, embracing nearly 17 degrees of latitude, or 1180 miles.—From west to east, it extends from the Pacific ocean, eastwardly across the Andes, to the great vallies of the head branches of the river Amazon; but its eastern boundary has never been correctly defined. Geographers, however, have usually allowed 500 miles for its width, east and west.—Should Upper and Lower Peru become united under one government, and be able to maintain their independence, it is probable they will claim hereafter a much greater portion of the great valley of the Amazon, than has heretofore been assigned them by geographers.

The northern boundary of Lower Peru is the republic of Colombia; its western boundary is the Pacific ocean; its southern Upper Peru, and its eastern boundary is the great valley of the Amazon. The whole of Lower Peru is traversed by the Andes, the eastern range of which approaches with-

in from 30 to 100 miles of the Pacific. The country is naturally divided into three distinct sections, with respect to soil, surface, climate, and natural productions. The first section is that which borders on the ocean, and is one of the most extraordinary tracts of country on the globe. The whole of this region to Coquimbo, in Chile, nearly to the entrance of the river Guayaquil, or from 4° to 30° of south latitude, is an irreclaimable desert, except in the vallies of the rivers, where the soil is capable of the highest cultivation. The barren high country, along the inner margin of this extensive desert, is rich in mineral treasures, but destitute of verdure. The whole coast of this region is always free from storms, and its waters may be safely navigated at all seasons of the year. It never rains, nor is there any thunder or lightning on the borders of the Pacific, which singular phenomena have established here perpetual spring. A gentle mist, or dew, falls from May to September, to moisten and fertilize the soil; the water for the use of the inhabitants and cattle, and for the purposes of irrigation, is derived from the rivers that descend from the Andes. Out of the vallies the whole country is one bleak, miserable, sandy waste; alike destitute of trees or any kind of vegetation. This tract of country is also often subject to earthquakes.

The next section consists of the elevated vallies of the Andes. These vallies and plains, of a moderate elevation, like those of Upper Peru, enjoy a temperature favourable to health and human comfort, and yield abundantly the animal and vegetable productions of temperate and tropical regions. At a higher elevation, the country becomes cold, sterile, and destitute of vegetation; but is often rich in mineral productions. The district bordering on the rivers that discharge their waters into the great Amazon, comprises the last section of country, and is characterised by half yearly alternations, of rainy and dry seasons; but possesses all the natural resources, and luxuriance of vegetation, of other tropical, alluvial regions.

Lower Peru is washed by the Pacific ocean on the whole of its western border, affording it superior advantages for commercial intercourse with the rest of the world, and for fisheries: although the coast is not indented, like the maritime borders of most other countries, with bays and harbours, yet the small rivers that descend from the Andes, form a sufficient number of convenient harbours and landing places on this tranquil ocean, to accommodate all the purposes of commerce and navigation.

The eastern section of Peru is watered by the Ucayle and Tunguragua rivers, two of the principal branches of the Amazon. The Mautaro and Inamberi form the Ucayle ; and the Apurimac and Jauja are the two branches of the Mautaro, and water some of the most flourishing districts in Peru. The Tunguragua and its numerous branches water the extensive districts in the northeastern section of Lower Peru. This branch of the Amazon is navigable to the city of Jaen, in south latitude 5° 21', near 4000 miles from the mouth of the Amazon. A free navigation of these rivers would open a great field for commercial enterprize.

The republic of Lower Peru, includes eight intendancies, eight populous cities, and fourteen hundred and sixty small towns or villages ; three of the intendancies are situated on the coast of the Pacific, and five in the interior. The three first, are Arequipa and Lima, in the centre, and Truxillo in the north. Those in the interior are Cuzco, Huamanga, Tarma, Huancavelica, and some writers add Guantajja. The intendancies are subdivided into districts, townships, and curacies or parishes.

The intendancy of *Arequipa*, has an extensive maritime border on the Pacific, but much of its territory is a dreary waste ; it is, however, intersected by many fertile vallies, the principal of which are the vallies of Quilca, Moguegua, Locumba and Tacna. These vallies abound with excellent vineyards, which produce great quantities of wine and brandy ; there are also olive plantations ; wheat, sugar, cotton and Guinea-pepper, are likewise produced in these vertile vallies. There are many valuable silver mines in this intendancy, of which several are very productive ; copper is also found in the greatest abundance.

The capital of this intendancy is the city of Arequipa, situated in south latitude 16° 13' 30" in the valley of Quilca, in a fertile country. It was founded in the year 1530, by Pizarro ; near it is a dreadful volcano, the climate is very temperate, and the best in the country ; but it has been four times laid in ruins by earthquakes. The houses are well built, generally of stone, and vaulted ; the streets are kept clean by means of canals. Its distance is sixty miles from the port of Molendo, on the Pacific, and two hundred and ninety miles from Lima, in a south-easterly direction. Its population is 23,988.

The next most considerable place is the city of Moguegua, situated in the interior, about fifty miles east from the port of Ilo, in a rich valley already mentioned, which contains about 2,000 inhabitants. The principal ports of this intendancy

are Iquique, in latitude 20° 7′ south, a very commodious harbour, but a small village; Arica, in lat. 18° 20′ south, a small town, but the principal seaport of Arequipa. This intendancy has 136,800 inhabitants, and embraces seven districts.

Lima lies north of Arequipa, and south of Truxillo, and is the central intendancy on the Pacific border. Like Arequipa, the province of Lima is generally a sandy desert, except the vallies on the borders of the rivers, which descend from the mountains. The most beautiful and productive of these vallies, is that which is watered by the river Rimac. The plains watered by this river are covered with a luxuriant vegetation, and produce sugar, maize, rice, and the choicest fruits in abundance. In this delightful valley, on the banks of the river Rimac, stands the ancient and populous city of Lima, the capital, not only of this intendancy, but of all Peru.

This city, which is the great emporium of trade for the whole Pacific coast of the continent of America, and the grand depot of the metallic regions of South America, into which they have been pouring their wealth for nearly three centuries, is situated in south latitude 12° 3′. About six miles west is Callao, its natural harbour and port, at the mouth of the river Rimac. Lima is elevated about six hundred feet above the level of the sea, and is skirted by hills which overlook the city; is surrounded by a wall of brick, and has seven gates. The form of the town is nearly triangular, the base extending along the river. Notwithstanding the frequent earthquakes which have destroyed this city, it occupies an area of ten miles in circumference, including the suburb of San Lazaro. The Rimac flows on the north side, separating it from the suburb of San Lazaro, which is connected with it by an excellent stone bridge. The streets are paved, and through them streams of water flow, conducted from the river a little above the city; they are broad, and cross each other at right angles, forming squares of one hundred and fifty yards on each side. The houses are low, but commodious and handsome, having fruit gardens attached to most of them. In the centre of the great square there is a spacious and superb fountain. The city is divided into five parishes, and contains 23 monasteries, fourteen nunneries, and sixteen hospitals; a cathedral and a vice royal palace. It is the seat of an university, a school for medicine, and numerous other public schools, besides being accommodated with a theatre, and other places of public amusement. In 1798, its population, by an accurate census was 52,627; it is now estimated to contain near 70,000.

Lima was founded in 1535 by Pizarro, and is situated at the distance of 2,865 miles from Buenos Ayres, in a north westerly direction; 1,215 miles from Potosi, in the same direction, and about 500 from the city of Cuzco. Callao, the port of Lima, is situated at the mouth of the river Rimac, and is strongly fortified. The other ports belonging to this intendancy are Ancan and Huacho in the north, and Pisco and Chorillos in the south. It comprises eight districts, and a population of 149,112.

Truxillo is north of Lima, and the climate, soil, and productions, are similar. Its capital is the city of Truxillo, situated in lat. 8° 6′ south, in the valley of Chimo, and was founded by Pizarro, in 1535. It lies about one and a half miles distant from the sea. The houses are generally built of brick, and only one story high; its population is 5,790. The port of Truxillo is Guanchaco, situated six miles north. The other port in this intendancy is Payta, in lat. 6° 56′. It contains a population of 230,967, and is divided into eight districts.

Cuzco is situated 500 miles south-east of Lima, adjoining Upper Peru, among the rich vallies beyond the Andes, It is watered by the Apurimac, and other head waters of the Amazon. This intendancy enjoys a healthy and temperate climate, and is extremely rich in agricultural resources, producing wheat, sugar, and the choicest fruits in the greatest abundance; it contains, also, many valuable and productive gold mines. Its capital is the ancient city of Cuzco. situated in 13° 32′ south lat. and was founded in the eleventh century by Manco Capac, the first Inca of Peru, and taken possession of by Francisco Pizarro, in 1534. It stands on an uneven scite, skirted by mountains on the north and west. The ruins of the famous fort, built by the Incas, are still visible on the mountain north of the city. The houses are principally built of stone, and its public buildings are a cathedral, nine churches, and numerous convents. The Guatanay, a small river, runs past the town. Its population is estimated at 32,082.

Huamanga is centrally situated, west of Cuzco, embracing many rich and fertile vallies, and is well watered by the head branches of the river Amazon, possessing many rich and productive silver mines.

The principal city is Huamanga, lying in lat. 13° 1′ south, on a declivity of a mountainous ridge, not remarkable for its height, but still, so far above the river as to be scantily supplied with water. It was founded by Pizarro, in 1539, and is situated 180 miles south-east of Lima. Its population is 25,970; it has a cathedral, an university, several chapels and convents,

and a hospital. The country around the city is fertile and populous. The climate of the intendancy is temperate, and abounds with various kinds of grain, fruit, and cattle. There are several mines near Huamanga, but few of them are worked.—This intendancy is sub-divided into seven districts, and contains a population of 111,559.

The intendancy of *Huancavelica* comprises four districts, and 30,917 inhabitants. Its principal town of the same name is situated in south lat. 12° 53′, and has a population of 5,156. The products of the province are grain, sugar and cattle.

Tarma produces grain, cattle, cocoa, and bark, and possesses several silver mines, one of which called Yauricocha, yielded, in one year, 2,816,703 dollars. Its population is 201,259, and it is divided into eight districts. Its capital, of the same name as the province, lies in lat. 12° 33′, and has 5,538 inhabitants.

The extensive tract of country, called UPPER PERU, at present without any settled form of government, comprises seven intendancies, Potosi, Charcas or La Plata, Cochabamba, La Paz, Santa Cruz De la Sierra, or Puno, Moxos, and Chiquitos. This vast tract of country extends from lat. 14° to 24° south, a distance of nearly 700 miles, and from the Pacific ocean to the river Paraguay, about the same distance; and is watered by the head branches of the Amazon and La Plata, and traversed by the lofty Andes. It possesses a climate of almost every variety of temperature, from the torrid to the frozen zone, and a soil well suited to the productions of both Europe and the Indies.

The region which extends from Jujui to Oruro, from 17° 52′ to 22° south latitude, comprises the most mountainous and irregular part of the country, ascending, gradually, on every side to Potosi, which is the most elevated part. Here the two noble rivers, Amazon and La Plata, take their rise within about seventy miles of each other, in lat. 17° 30′ south, and discharge their waters into the Atlantic ocean, the former under the equator, and the latter in 35° south lat. at a distance of nearly 2,500 miles from each other. This whole country is cold and mountainous; but sterile as its surface is, its bowels are rich in the precious metals.

There are two ranges of the Andes extending through this territory, from north to south, which are called the eastern and western. The eastern is the loftiest, and its summit is covered with perpetual snow, while the western range, is more low, irregular, is less a region of frost, and the com-

munication, through the intervening vallies to the Pacific ocean, is not obstructed by one continuous and unbroken range.

Potosi is the most southern intendency of Upper Peru, and is divided into eight provinces. Extending from the Pacific across the ridges of the Andes, it is generally a lofty and mountainous region, with the exception of some beautiful and fertile vallies, which are watered by the river San Juan and its branches, discharging its waters into the Pilcomayo, one of the principal western tributaries of the great La Plata; the head waters of the San Juan approach very near the Pacific. There are, also, the delightful and fertile vallies of Tarija, which are watered by a river of the same name, one of the head branches of Rio Grande, another great western branch of the La Plata.

The principal river on the coast of the Pacific, is Loxa. Here the valies are rich in the various productions of the tropical and temperate zones; the mountains, however, are cold and sterile, almost excluding vegetation, but rich in the metalic treasures. In addition to the clebrated mines of Potosi, which are considered the richest and most productive in South America, almost every section of this intendancy, abounds with valuable mines of silver. There are, also, many rich mines of gold, copper, and iron ores, scattered over the whole face of the country—in fact, the mineral resources of this region, are not surpassed by any other in the world, either as it respects abundance or variety.

The population of Potosi has been variously estimated, but is supposed, by the best authorities, to be about 112, 000, including 25,000 Indians. The principal town, and also the capital of all Upper Peru, is the celebrated mining city of Potosi, situated in lat. 19° 30′ south at the elevation of 11, 000 feet above the level of the sea, on the great post road leading from Buenos Ayres to Lima; 1,650 miles from the former, and, 1215 from the latter, and about 300 miles west of the Pacific ocean.

The city is built at the bottom of the celebrated mountain of the same name, so famous for the immense riches, which it has been pouring forth for the last three centuries. The figure of this mountain is conic, and it is covered with green, red, yellow and blue spots, that gives it a very curious appearance, resembling no other mountain in the world, and it is entirely bare without trees or shrubs.

The city of Potosi is nearly nine miles in circumference; it is divided into the city proper, and *Yngenios*, where are situa-

ted the laboratories of the mines, and which are separated by a small river, called the river of the lakes, over which there is a stone bridge. The city and *Yngenios* are nearly a mile a part. The streets are narrow and irregular, and paved with round stones, with side walks. The houses are uniformly of one story, built of stone and brick, with balconies of wood, and without chimneys, each one having a yard in the rear supplied with fountains of water. There are in Potosi, three monasteries, five convents, and nineteen parochial churches, which are richly ornamented with silver.

On the north side of the public square is situated the mint, which is a grand edifice of free stone, of a quadrangular figure, two stories high and nearly 450 feet square, in which are offices for the governors and workmen, and apartments for the extensive machinery. The coining of this mint surpasses that of Lima or Santiago, and is said to have produced in prosperous times 4,000,000 of dollars annually. There are six hotels in Potosi, and a market house of six hundred feet in length, abundantly supplied with meats and vegetables of various kinds, with the choicest fruits, such as peaches, oranges, pine apples, &c. brought from the neighbouring vallies. Fish, however, are extremely scarce and dear.

The climate of Potosi is very cold and for a distance of twelve miles around the city there are no trees or shrubbery of any kind, and nothing vegetates except a species of green moss.

On the hills above the town, there are about thirty artificial lakes, for supplying the city with water, and turning the mills of the miners; the number of mills, or amalgamation works, are one hundred and twenty; the ores worked in these, are brought down from the mountains above, at the height of 16.250 feet above the level of the sea. The extraordinary mines of this mountain were discovered in 1545 by an Indian named Hualpa, accidentally, as he was pursuing his goats up the mountain; but others say that the first discoverer was Potocchi, from whom the mountain derives its name. Potosi, according to the best authorities, contains a population of 40, 000 inhabitants, who subsist chiefly by mining; it is the focus of all the commerce between Buenos Ayres and Upper and Lower Peru, and is a place of great business and wealth.

The other considerable towns in this intendancy, are Pilaya the capital of a province of the same name, containing 12, 000 inhabitants; it enjoys a fine climate, and is surrounded with a fertile country; Tarija, situated in lat. 21° 30′ south,

in a delightful valley of the same name, and has a population of 10,000, Tupiza, Lipiz, Tarapaca, St. Francisco de Atacama near the Pacific; these towns are pleasantly situated and enjoy climates similar to other towns in this intendancy.

The intendancy of *Charcas* or *La Plata* is watered by the river Pilcomayo, and its branch, the Cachimayo, which flow into the La Plata, and are celebrated for the abundance and excellence of their fish, their banks are clothed with verdure and covered with forests. This is an excellent agricultural district, its climate is generally warm, and it has some vine-yards and sugar plantations; abounding with cultivated farms, and affording fine cattle and sheep, wheat, and excellent fruits. There are few mines in this province.

Charcas the capital, in lat. 19° S is distant 75 miles north-east of Potosi, and was founded by one of Pizarro's captains, in the year 1538, and stands on a plain, surrounded on every side by several small hills, with a fine climate. The streets cross each other at right angles, are very wide, and well paved. The houses are regularly built one story high, with balconies of wood, and spacious gardens in the rear; its population at present does not exceed 15,000.

The cathedral is a very magnificent edifice; the gate is of copper, very massy and much ornamented. The palace of the arch-bishop is a splendid building, with grand saloons and spacious gardens with fountains of water; and it is furnished in a princely style. There are also in this city five convents, three nunneries, an university, two colleges, and an academy for law-students. In the university and colleges, there are about five hundred students who come from all parts of the country.

The city of Oruro is situated in south lat. 17° 58', 171 miles north west of Potosi. It is admirably located for inland commerce, and is about 170 miles east of the port of Arica on the Pacific, and the post road from Buenos Ayres to Lima passes through it; there is a good mule road to Arica. The city is built at the foot of a mineral mountain of the same name. Its figure is a cresent; it is well laid out, and its houses are regularly of one story. It has five convents, and its markets are well supplied with fresh fish from the ocean. The population is about 15,000.

The intendancy of *Cochabamba* forms an oblong tract of land, extending from east to west 520 miles, and from north to south 92 miles. The western section of this territory is traversed by the lofty Andes, from which there is a gradual slope, or

gentle declivity from the west until it is lost in the interminable plains on the east. This district of country is well watered by the head branches of the Amazon, and possesses every variety of soil and climate. On the summits of the mountains, eternal winter reigns, while the plains below are covered with perpetual verdure. The fecundity of nature is here displayed in all its richness and beauty; all the animals and vegetables of every class and variety, attract the curiosity of the observer; trees and plants innumerable, cover the soil with prodigious abundance, and fill the atmosphere with a salubrity and fragrance beyond any other region. Among the agricultural productions, are wheat, vines, and the olive, in the greatest abundance; the choicest fruits of both temperate and tropical climates; and so productive is the country in grass, that its name in the dialect of the aboriginal inhabitants, means *rich grass*.

This territory as might be supposed, of such extraordinary excellence, in both its animal and vegetable productions, is not rich in mineral treasures. Its population is estimated at 115,000 consisting principally of industrious farmers and skilful mechanics, distinguished for their intelligence. The capital is the city of Oropesa, in south lat. 18° 31', situated on a beautiful plain near the river Sacabo. The city is square, and the streets, which are spacious, cross each other at right angles. It contains five convents and two nunneries, with a population of 25,000.

The intendancy of *La Paz*, has a population of 110,000, exclusive of Indians. The western section of this territory is an extensive plain, bordering on the eastern shore of the great lake Titicaca. The climate is cold on account of its proximity to the Andes, and its productions are principally potatoes and barley. The eastern part includes the entire range of the Andes and its declivities, together with those fertile plains which extend towards Moxos and Cochabamba. Of this range the highest peaks are those of Ancoma on the north, and Ilimani on the south, distant about 100 miles from each other. The figure of Ilimani is pyrimidal, resembling in many points the famous peak of Chimborazo; its top in the dry season, is visible at a distance of 150 miles; in the rainy season it is enveloped in clouds. The appearance of this mountain is wonderfully grand, particularly when seen in the night time from the city of La Paz, situated in the vallies below, at a distance of thirty miles.

This territory abounds with the most valuable silver mines, and many fertile vallies: its waters chiefly are embodied in

the great lake Titicaca which forms the western boundary of this intendancy. This lake is about 240 miles in circumference, its medium-width is about 30 miles, containing several beautiful islands, abounding in corn, barley, and potatoes. Its borders are picturesque, and covered with villages, and cultivated fields. It abounds with excellent fish, and on its shores and islands are found great numbers of water-fowl, of various species.

The waters of the eastern section of this intendancy consist principally of the river Tipuani, and its branches. This river pours down from the eastern Andes, like a torrent, and flowing with an impetuous and roaring current, a distance of 120 miles, through the narrow defiles of the mountains in a northerly direction to the valley of Tipuani, it unites with the Challana which rises in the same chain of mountains, and assumes the name of Beni; here it loses its rapidity and flows with a smooth and even current towards the coast. The river Beni after a course of several hundred miles, in a north easterly direction, unites with the river Madeira, and these united waters constitute the great southern branch of the Amazon.

On the banks of the river Tipuani, and its tributary streams, gold is found in the greatest abundance. Below Tipuani, the country becomes level, and stretches off towards the north and east into expanded plains, covered with stately forests, and exhibiting gentle undulations of hills, clothed in luxuriant vegetation.

The capital of this intendancy, is the city of La Paz, situated in lat. 16 30' south, 180 miles east of the Pacific. It lies in a hollow, considerably below the elevation of the plains which extend from the eastern Andes to the lake, and is divided by the river Chookeago which is a branch of the river Tipuani already mentioned. There are four stone bridges across the river; the streets are rec-tangular and well paved, and the houses are principally built of stone, of two and three stories high, many of them exhibiting much taste and elegance in their structure. In the public square there are some splendid edifices; in the centre, stands a fountain of water, constructed of transparent alabaster. There are four convents, three nunneries, five parochial churches, a college and an alms-house, where the poor are entertained.

The city stands at the base of the peak of Ilimani, which overlooks it, and whose snowy summit and verdant sides exhibit a splendid view. The plains which surround the city are cloth'd in perpetual verdure, are very fertile, supplying it

with all kinds of vegetables. The markets in La Paz are considered the best in Upper Peru, and are well supplied with fresh fish both from the lake and the ocean; fruits are plenty at all seasons of the year; wines and brandies are obtained in abundance from the Pacific coast; sugar from Cuzco, and wheat from Cochabamba. There is a great scarcity of fuel, and that which is used is charcoal. The population of the city is 40,000.

The intendancy of *Santa Cruz* or *Puno*, is well watered by the Rio Grande and other head waters of the Mamore, a branch of the Amazon. Its population is 100,000, and it is divided into two departments, Misque and Santa Cruz, from which the intendancy takes its name. The department of Misque is comprised in its western section, enjoying a warm climate. The chief town which is of the same name, stands in a fine valley, of twenty-four miles in circumference, with a population of 12,000. This is an extremely fertile province, producing in great abundance, corn, sugar, grapes, bees-wax, and honey.

The province of Santa Cruz is situated east of Misque. The chief town is of the same name, and is the capital of the intendancy, situated in lat. 17° 49′ south, at the foot of a small range of mountains. The productions of this province, are the same as those of Misque, but cultivation is more neglected; there are no mines in the district.

Moxos and *Chiquitos* are intendancies of great extent of territory, but small population. Moxos, extends from north to south 360 miles, and nearly the same distance east and west. It is watered by three rivers, Beni, Mamore, and Santa Cruz, which, rising in the eastern Andes, flow into the Amazon.

Chiquitos lies south-east of Moxos, east of Santa Cruz, and west of the river Paraguay, and is a country of great extent, but thinly settled. The territory of Moxos and Chiquitos extend from lat. 14° to 20° south, embracing an extensive and fertile tract of country mostly in a state of nature, and without cultivation, but possessing immense natural resources and capable of sustaining a vast population in affluence. The climate of these intendancies is like the East Indies, with half yearly alternations of rainy and dry seasons, and the productions are similar; cinnamon is produced in abundance. The forests are full of balsamic, resinous, odoriferous trees. Here are found Peruvian bark, vainilla, ginger, gum copal, and all sorts of resins and healing balsams. The rivers and lakes abound with fish; honey is also collected in great quantities in

the forests. The silk worm abounds, and the mulberry upon which it feeds, is a common tree of the country.

The countries of Upper and Lower Peru, possessing a similar population, interests and habits; and bordering upon each other will in all probability, return to their primitive political situation, and become united into one state.

Should they be able to maintain their independence, and adopt a liberal republican system of government, they may hereafter become a great and powerful nation, possessing advantages superior to most other nations, as to climate and local situation, with the most inexhaustible agricultural and mineral resources, with every facility for a rich and extensive commerce with the rest of the world. The free navigation of the Amazon to the centre of Peru, and to the foot of the eastern Andes, will follow as a necessary consequence of the independence of the country. The territory between the eastern and western range of the Andes, is generally windy and cold, although some temperate and fruitful vallies intervene. This tract is called La Sierra, and is rich in metallic wealth. There are frequent storms of rain, hail, and snow on the mountains—often attended with tremendous thunder. The year is divided into only two seasons—the wet and dry; the former commencing in November, and continuing until April; and the latter, the remainder of the year, during which there is no rain. This is the winter of the climate, there being frequent frosts of considerable severity. The coldest weather occurs in May and June, and resembles the months of October and November in the northern states of North America, but fires are never lighted to warm apartments. The same kind of dress is worn the year round, and cattle are never housed.—The lofty regions are destitute of trees, the table lands only exhibit a stinted shrubbery, and a species of wire grass or rush, which grows where nothing else will vegetate, upon which the Vicunas and Guanacos feed. In the vallies and ravines of this tract of country, the climate is temperate and the soil fertile, and they are profusely watered by the torrents which roll down the mountains, and are well adapted to the production of luxuriant crops.

On the eastern sides of the eastern range, the climate is uniformly warm; the seasons are divided in the same manner as in the former tract. There are here no frosts or snow, and all the varieties of the climate consist in the graduations of heat, and in humidity and dryness. On the west of the western range, or the territory of the coast, it never rains; the moisture of the earth is supplied from the torrents which de-

scend from the mountains, and from dews. There is some chilly weather, but the extremes of heat and cold are inconsiderable; thunder storms never occur, but earthquakes are not uncommon. There are some volcanic mountains in the eastern range of the Andes, but their visible fires have long since been extinct. The climate of Peru is highly salubrious. On the coast of the Pacific, fever and ague prevails in some places, but acute diseases are almost entirely unknown. The inhabitants who live a temperate life, attain generally an advanced age. Peru has been called the country of old men.

Among the animals peculiar to Peru, are four distinct kinds of sheep; the Llama, the Alpacha, the Guanaco, and the Vicuna. The Llama and Alpacha are domestic animals; the Llama is about the size of a stag, of different colours, white, brown, and black; it chews the cud like common sheep; its flesh is excellent food, equal to mutton—the wool long and coarse; it is used as a beast of burden, and can carry a load of one hundred twenty-five pounds, but is slow in motion, having a lofty and majestic gait, carrying its head high in the air. It is mild and docile.

The Alpacha is a smaller animal than the Llama; its colour is white, black, and some times spotted; its flesh is not eaten, but its wool is very fine and useful. The Guanaco is still smaller than the Alpacha; its colour is usually red, resembling a dried rose in the sun; its wool is fine and valuable. This animal is wild, and frequents the most rude and inaccessible parts of the mountains, and is extremely fleet. The Vicuna is somewhat taller than the common English sheep, but with a smaller body; its colour is brown, with white belly and legs. This animal is more vigorous in the elevated regions of the mountains, than in low and temperate situations; its wool is very fine. They are found in abundance on the high ranges of the Andes—are swift in their course, and very timid. They are usually seen in droves of many hundreds, among the clifts of the mountains.

The Chinchilla, a little animal about the size of a Cat, produces valuable fur, not inferior to the Martin. The most remarkable bird of Peru, is the Condor, which is between three and four feet in height, and whose wings are at least fourteen feet from end to end; its colour is dark brown, with a white collar round its neck. This bird possesses great strength, and will run and fly with amazing swiftness.

Among the peculiar vegetable productions, is Cinchona, or Peruvian bark. This important article in the Materia Medica, is found only in Peru, and the adjacent territory of Co-

lombia; there are several species of this bark—the pale, yellow, and red; the trees from which it is taken, are slender and straight, rarely exceeding ten feet in height, and are about the size of a man's leg; they never occur in clusters, but are thinly scattered throughout the forests. The bark is principally collected by the Indians.

The population of Upper Peru amounts to 1,740,000, and Upper and Lower Peru together have usually been estimated at 3,000,000. This population is similar to other parts of Spanish America, consisting of Creoles, European Spaniards, Indians, Negroes, Mulattoes, and other mixed races. The European Spaniards are not numerous, having greatly diminished in consequence of the revolution. The Creoles constitute the enlightened portion of the community, and the most efficient and patriotic supporters of liberty and independence. The people of colour, which comprise all the mixed races, have also been much devoted to the cause of liberty and their country. This heretofore degraded class, have generally filled the ranks of the army, and made excellent soldiers. The negroes and mulattoes are most numerous on the coast of the Pacific, and the Indians, Mestizoes, and Cholas in the interior.

All Peru is divided into curacies or parishes, which are governed by a *curate*, a *cascique*, and an *alcade*. The first is a spiritual chief, whose business is to teach the Roman Catholic religion; the second is a collector, and the third a judicial officer. The church dignitaries consist of bishops and archbishops, who enjoy immense incomes. The churches and other religious institutions are numerous and wealthy.

The commerce of Peru, was, originally, during the galleon trade, carried on at Porto Bello, across the isthmus. Peru, also, participated in the Manilla trade. In consequence of the difficulty of conveying bulky and heavy articles across the country, Spain granted to Peru the privilege of cultivating the vine and olive to make wine and oil—a privilege not enjoyed in other parts of Spanish America, except in Chile. But it was not allowed to furnish any of the Spanish possessions with these articles, which could be supplied from Spain. And for this privilege, Peru and Chile were restricted in the cultivation of tobacco, and some other articles. The foreign commerce of Peru, since 1778, with Europe and the East Indies, has been carried on around Cape Horn, and by way of Manilla.

At the present time, the foreign commerce is principally enjoyed by Great Britain; the enterprize, however, of the citizens of the United States, has enabled them to come in for a share. Peru maintains a coasting trade with Acapulco and

San Blas in Mexico; Guayaquil and Panama in Colombia; and with Guatamala and Chile. Peru is favourably situated to engage in the whale fishery, but has not participated in it whilst the British and our own citizens traverse half the globe to pursue this lucrative branch of commerce.

Lower Peru, which is entirely emancipated from the dominion of Spain, except that the fortress of Callao is still possessed by the Spaniards, has recently established a government on the republican plan. It declared its independence in 1821, after it was liberated by San Martin, and organized a government. This government, however, maintained its authority but a short time after San Martin left Peru, and the Spaniards re-established their authority over the country, which continued until the arrival of the liberating army under the magnanimous Bolivar, in 1824.

After the great victory of Ayacucho, which annihilated the Spanish army, and liberated the whole of Lower Peru, Bolivar, who had been appointed dictator, convened a congress, and resigned, into their hands, his authority. This congress, which was installed on the 10th of February, 1825, conferred on the liberator the supreme political and military power, until the constitutional congress should be installed in the year 1826. The government, therefore, in Lower Peru, is not yet actually established, and Upper Peru was not at the last intelligence received, redeemed from foreign dominion, and consequently, no independent government could be organized there. Upper and Lower Peru will, probably, become united, and form one powerful republic. The Peruvian territories are the last of the Spanish American dominions redeemed from foreign despotism, and this has been effected by the other independent governments.

HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTION IN PERU.

CHAPTER IX.

Events before the revolution—expedition from Chile—Lord Cochrane appointed to command the naval squadron—San Martin appointed commander in chief—landing at Pisco—attack on Callao—expedition proceeds to Huara—the army advances towards the capital, which is abandoned by the royalists—declaration of independence—congress assembles—San Martin resigns and sails for Chile—congress dissolved—Bolivar enters Peru—desertions of the royalists—battles of Junin and Ayacucho—treaty signed—congress installed—speech of the president—his resignation—general Sucre—events in Upper Peru—expected meeting of congress—conclusion.

Notwithstanding the country of Lower Peru has been the last of the Spanish colonies, which has participated in the renovating and salutary influence of the spirit of independence and reform, that has so extensively prevailed in both North and South America; yet this region, in the early part of its history, produced one of the most distinguished reformers of the age in which he lived. Don Jose Antequara, a native of the city of Lima, was one of those extraordinary men, who, possessing a nobleness of soul, and being animated, by the most exalted sentiments, and the purest patriotism, devoted himself, enthusiastically, to the cause of liberty and the happiness of mankind.

Being appointed commissioner to inquire into the abuses of the Jesuits of Paraguay, and having found the administration profligate and corrupt, he endeavoured to reform it, and establish a representative government. But, after an ineffectual struggle, he was defeated, arrested, conveyed to Lima, and with his companions, imprisoned for nearly five years, and was, finally, barbarously executed by the Spanish authorities.

The spirit of independence that was excited by Antequera, was now suppressed by his death, for nearly fifty years; when, in 1780, during the struggle for independence among the North American states, it again burst forth in Cuzco. Jose Gabriel Tupac Amru, illustrious by his descent from Inca Sayri Tupac, but more illustrious as the first martyr to the emancipation of Peru, from the degradation and calamities of Spanish colonial despotism, was the valiant leader of this revolution. But, like his predecessor Antequera, he was unsuccessful, and died like a hero. The manner of his death was revolting to humanity, and characteristic of the brutality of the Spanish colonial tyranny; his tongue was cut out, and his body drawn in quarters by horses, and the mutilated fragments were burnt to ashes. His wife and children were, also, murdered in the most shocking manner, and an exterminating war was waged against his successors, which did not cease until nearly one third of the population of Peru were destroyed by the hand of violence.

Notwithstanding the horrid devastation and massacre of all engaged in this patriotic struggle, another patriot devoted to the cause of liberty and independence arose in Peru, in 1805, of the name of Ubalde. He was a native of Arica, and was the assessor or chief lawyer of the presidency of Cuzco; an enlightened man of acknowledged talents and excellent character. Before his project was matured, Ubalde was betrayed, and fell a victim to his patriotism, and devotion to the cause of his country. He was sentenced to death with eight of his companions, and more than one hundred others were banished from the country. Ubalde was executed at Cuzco, in August, 1805, and died with the serenity of a christian, maintaining his principles to the last. While seated on the scaffold, he declared that his death would not stop the progress of liberty; that the independence of South America was not far distant; and, although he was going down to the grave, without the satisfaction of witnessing that glorious event; yet his mind was consoled with the hope, that his friends who survived him, would one day enrol his name among the martyred patriots of his country. His lamentable fate drew tears from

every eye. Most excellent man, and martyred hero! thy prayers have been heared—scarce twenty years have elapsed, and the day of retribution has come upon thy murderers—the oppressors of thy country. The eagles of liberty have already winged their flight to the summits of the Andes, and the cry of independence and freedom is heard from the loftiest mountains, and the deepest recesses of the vallies; and the same enlivening page, that records the liberation of thy country, shall inscribe thy glorious devotion to the sacred cause of humanity and justice.

No further effort was made for the emancipation of Lower Peru, until after the battle of Maypu, which gave liberty to Chile; when the gallant general San Martin, perceiving that the independence of Chile would be much exposed, while the royalists were able to command the wealth and resources of Peru, conceived the noble project of liberating that country also. He, accordingly, with the aid of the governments of Chile and Buenos Ayres, made immediate preparations to fit out an expedition against that country. A naval armament was provided with all possible haste, and lord Cochrane, arriving in Chile, in November, 1818, was immediately appointed to the command. Many English and American officers and seamen flocked to his standard, and by great exertions, a formidable squadron was equipped and sailed in 1819. This squadron visited the coast of Peru, and continued to harrass the enemy by capturing their ships, and blockading their ports, until the army was ready which was not until August, 1820. The expedition was reported ready for sailing on the 15th, and on the 18th the troops were embarked at Valparaiso. Their appearance and dicipline were worthy of any country, and their numbers amounted to 4,900; 15,000 thousand stand of arms, with a proportionate quantity of ammunition and cloathing, were shipped for the purpose of organizing a corps of Peruvians, who, it was expected, would flock to the revolutionary standard, as soon as the expedition landed.

General San Martin was appointed commander in chief of the liberating army of Peru. The fleet under lord Cochrane, consisted of the flag ship of fifty guns, one of sixty guns, another of forty, and four smaller vessels; the transports were twenty in number

Before the expedition sailed, a bulletin was published:

"An expedition, equipped by means of great sacrifices, is, at length, ready to proceed, and the army of Chile, united to that of the Andes, is now called upon to redeem the land in which slavery has long existed, and from whence the latest

efforts have been made to oppress the whole continent. Happy be this day on which the record of the movements and the actions of the expedition commences.

"The object of this enterprize is to decide, whether or not the time is arrived, when the influence of South America, upon the rest of the world, shall be commensurate with its extent, its riches, and its situation."

The expedition sailed from the port of Valparaiso in Chile on the 20th of August, 1820, and reached Pisco, which is situated about 100 miles south of Lima, on the 7th of September, and by the 11th the whole army was disembarked. The Spanish troops stationed in the neighbourhood had previously retired to Lima, where the viceroy resolved to collect his whole army. The liberating army at first encountered no resistance, and on the 26th of September, an armistice for eight days was concluded, at the request of the viceroy, and commissioners from both parties held a conference. On the 4th of October, the armistice terminated without any successful result to the negociation which had been attempted, and on the 26th the expedition moved northward to Ancon. Lord Cochrane, with part of the squadron, anchored in the outer roads of Callao, the sea port of Lima. The inner harbour is extensively and very strongly fortified, and is called the castle of Callao. Under the protection of the batteries, lay three Spanish armed vessels of war, a forty gun frigate and two sloops of war, guarded by fourteen gunboats. On the night of the 5th of November, lord Cochrane, with 240 volunteers in fourteen boats, attempted the daring enterprize of cutting out the Spanish frigate, and succeeded in the most gallant manner, with the loss of only forty-one killed and wounded. The Spanish loss was 120 men. This success annihilated the Spanish naval power on the Pacific.

The joy occasioned by this splendid naval exploit was increased by Col. Arenales, who had been sent from Pisco with 1000 men, with orders to proceed by a cricuitous rout around Lima, until he rejoined the army; and on his march he attacked and defeated a detachment of the royal army sent from Lima to oppose him; the general was taken prisoner. Many districts declared in favour of the liberating army, and the revolutionary cause became so popular, that on the 3d of December a whole regiment of the royalists, with their colonel at their head, deserted from the Spanish service and joined the liberating army.

After a short stay at Ancon, San Martain proceeded to Huara, a strong position near the port of Huacho, about seventy-

five miles north of Lima. Here the army remained for six months, engaged in recruiting; in disseminating the spirit of independence, and cutting off the resources of the royalists in Lima. After another unavailing armistice, the liberating army began to advance towards the capital on the 5th of July, 1821, when the viceroy, alarmed for its security, issued a proclamation, announcing his intention of abandoning the city, and pointing out Callao as an asylum for those who felt insecure in the capital. This was a signal for an immediate flight, the consternation was excessive throughout the city; the road to Callao was crowded with fugitives, carrying their most valuable effects. The women were seen flying in all directions towards the convents and the narrow streets were literally choked up with loaded waggons, mules and mounted horsemen; the confusion continued all night, and until day-break. The viceroy marched out with his troops, not leaving a single sentinel over the powder magazine, having previously nominated the Marquis Montemire as governour of the city, who immediately called a meeting of the inhabitants, and the cabildo, or town council, which resolved to invite San Martin to enter the capital. The answer of San Martin was full of magnanimity, and immediately inspired the greatest confidence among the inhabitants. He told them that he did not desire to enter the capital as a conqueror, but as their liberator; and added, as a proof of his sincerity, that the governour might command a portion of his troops, for the security of the persons and property of the inhabitants. The people who had deserted the city, now returned to their dwellings, and order was restored; and San Martin, who a few days before was considered an enemy, was now hailed as a benefactor. On the 12th of July, he made his entry into the capital, without ostentation or ceremony, and in a manner worthy of a republican general. He was accompanied by a single aid-de-camp only, but received with the greatest enthusiasm by most of the inhabitants; and all classes were anxious to behold the man who had performed such distinguished services for their country: he was kind, courteous, and affable to all. The females caught the enthusiasm of the man, and vied with each other in paying their respects to their liberator. To every one he had something kind and appropriate to say, occasioning an agreeable surprise to the person he addressed. San Martin now commenced the difficult task of reforming the abuses of the colonial government, and published an address to the Peruvians, containing sound and judicious sentiments, which justly entitles it to preservation.

On the 28th of July, 1821, the independence of Peru was solemnly proclaimed. The troops were drawn up in the great square, in the centre of which was erected a lofty stage, from which San Martin, accompanied by the governor and some of the principal inhabitants displaying for the first time the independent flag proclaiming that Peru was *free* and *independent*, by the general wish of the people, and the justice of her cause: Then waving the flag, San Martin exclaimed, *Viva La Patria! Vive La Liberta! Vive la Independence!* which was reiterated by the multitude in the square, while the bells rung a joyous peal, and cannon were discharged amidst the universal acclamations of the people. On the 3d of August, San Martin took upon himself the title of protector of Peru, and issued a proclamation.

It concluded by declaring, that the supreme political authority and military command were united in him, under the title of protector; and that Juan Garcia del Rial was named secretary of state, and by specifying the other appointments under his new government. He also addressed a proclamation to the Spaniards, bearing date the 4th of August, in which he says that he has respected their persons and property, agreeably to his promise, but notwithstanding which, they murmur in secret, and maliciously propagate suspicions of his intentions. He assures those who remain peaceable, swear to the independence of the country, and respect the new government, of being protected in their persons and estates; offers to such as do not confide in his word, the privilege of passports, within a given time, to leave the country with all their effects, and declares that those who remain and profess to submit to the government, but are plotting against it, shall feel the full rigour of the law, and be deprived of their possessions.

San Martin now proceeded steadily in recruiting and disciplining his army, in reforming the local abuses in the administration of affairs, and in preparing and organising a provisional government, until the permanent constitution of the state could be established. When absent, he appointed the marquis of Torre Tagle as supreme delegate, to exercise the functions of government.

On the 10th of September, the Spanish army returned from the interior, and marching past Lima, entered Callao. As it passed the capital, San Martin drew up his army, but did not attack the enemy, wisely foreseeing that an increase of the garrison of Callao would diminish their provisions, and hasten the surrender of the fortress. The Spanish army, after a short

stay, retired, carrying off the treasures deposited in the castle, which shortly after surrendered to the independants.

The liberating army now remained inactive until the following May, when a detachment was sent against the Spaniards, which proved unsuccessful. In July, 1822, San Martin left Lima for Guayaquil, where he had an interview with Bolivar, the liberator of Colombia, and, during his absence, the people of Lima, irritated against the minister, Monteagudo, forcibly deposed, imprisoned, and afterwards banished him to Panama. In August, San Martin returned with a re-enforcement of Colombian troops.

On the 20th of September, 1822, the sovereign constitutional congress of the federal provinces of Peru, was assembled, and the patriotic and popular chief, was happy to divest himself of the dictatorship, and gladly resigned into their hands, the supreme authority, which he had exercised for more than a year. The congress duly appreciating his magnanimity and patriotic services, elected him, by an unanimous vote, general and commander in chief of the armies of Peru; but he declined the appointment, only accepting the *title*, as a *mark* of the approbation and confidence of the Peruvians, declaring that in his opinion, his presence in Peru in command of the army, was inconsistent with the authority of the Congress.

"I have," says this illustrious patriot, "fulfilled the sacred promise which I made to Peru. I have witnessed the assembly of its representatives. The enemy's force threatens the independence of no place that wishes to be free, and possesses the means of being so. A numerous army under the direction of warlike chiefs, is ready to march in a few days to put an end to the war. Nothing is left for me to do, but to offer you my sincerest thanks, and to promise, that if the liberties of the Peruvians shall ever be attacked, I shall claim the honour of accompanying them, to defend their freedom like a citizen."

The congress expressed much regret at his declaration, and entreated him to take the actual command of their armies; but their appeal had no effect on the conduct of San Martin, whose resolution was formed on mature consideration. He had accomplished the object of his mission; he had emancipated the country, which he had visited for that purpose, and not to become its ruler. On retiring from a country which he had redeemed from slavery, and given a new creation, he published a proclamation, in which he says that he is repaid for ten years of his life spent in revolution and war: "I hold in my hand the standard which Pizarro brought over to enslave the empire of the Incas."

"My promises to the countries in which I made war are fulfilled—I give them independence, and leave them the choice of their government.

San Martin proceeded to Callao, and immediately sailed for Chile.

The congress now left to themselves, appointed a supreme junta of three enlightened men to whom they confided the executive power.

In November, 1822, an expedition sailed from Lima, for the southern coast, but in January, 1823, shortly after landing, the army was defeated and dispersed. This disaster was followed by a general discontent among the people, and in February, the sittings of the congress were suspended by Rivaaguero the president, who shortly after dissolved them in a most unconstitutional manner, and every thing was in confusion. Availing themselves of these disorders, in June, 1823, the Spanish army under general Canterac, re-entered Lima, having driven the patriots into Callao. They remained in the capital about a fortnight, levying contributions on the defenceless inhabitants. This was a short and sad termination of a struggle which had been so successful under the direction of an able leader. Whilst the cause of the revolution was thus prostrated in Peru, general Bolivar was bringing the war to a close in Colombia. Foreseeing that if the affairs of Peru were not placed in a better condition, royal authority would shortly be established in that country, and the independence of Colombia would be endangered, and being invited by the Peruvians, he resolved to proceed to that country; which he did, at the head of a considerable force, and was most cordially received at Lima, and appointed dictator until the Spaniards should be expelled or subdued. On his approach, the royalists retired into the interior.

The liberator, in addition to a formidable enemy, that possessed the whole of Upper, and most of the interior of Lower Peru, soon found himself surrounded with difficulties, in the dissentions among the patriots, which threatened the entire destruction of the revolutionary cause. Rivaaguero, the late president of the congress, collected a force to oppose the congress and general Bolivar. This insurrection, however, was soon suppressed, and the principal instigators were made prisoners and exiled; but the disasters of the army, and the conflicts of the parties, soon obliged the congress to confer on general Bolivar, the supreme power as dictator, to preserve the republic from ruin; notwithstanding, however, general

Bolivar found it necessary to return to Truxillo for safety, until the arrival of his re-enforcements from Colombia.

In the month of February, 1824, the royalists under general Canterac, took possession of the city of Lima without opposition, and about the same time, of the important fortress of Callao, by means of a defection of the troops from Buenos Ayres, forming part of the garrison. The state of affairs in Peru was now critical and alarming. The factious exerted themselves to prejudice the people against Bolivar, and charged him with entertaining ambitious designs, which induced him to address a proclamation to the people, dated at Truxillo, the 11th of March, 1824.

Great exertions were made by the liberator to forward his re-enforcements from Colombia, and to organize a force for the ensuing campaign, sufficient to liberate the whole of Peru, from the power of the royalists; it was also necessary to acquire a naval superiority, in order to conduct the operations of the war in the most efficient manner. Such additions were therefore made, to the naval force, as to enable the patriots, not only to blockade the port of Callao, but to destroy a number of vessels in that harbour.

The army being at length completely organized, commenced its operations in the month of June, 1824, and crossing the Andes, routed the vanguard of the enemy, consisting of 3,500 men, with great loss. In addition to the other advantages of this victory, it was productive of an accession to the forces of the patriots, of five hundred of the enemy's infantry, and one hundred of his cavalry, who deserted the royal standard, went over to the patriots, and fought bravely against the Spaniards.

The beginning of August, 1824, the liberating army was at Conocancha, and the royalists having approached near it, for the purpose of reconnoitering, Bolivar marched with his whole force, with the determination of bringing the enemy to a general action. Alarmed by this movement, the royalists re-traced their steps by forced marches, and succeeded in passing the point on the road to Junja, where Bolivar had intended to have taken a position, with the view to bring them to an engagement, several hours before the Independants arrived. Perceiving that the enemy continued to retreat in the most precipitate manner, Bolivar, unwilling that they should escape, and seeing it impossible to engage them with his whole force, placed himself at the head of his cavalry, although greatly inferior in point of numbers, to that of the enemy, and pursued at full speed. The patriots came up with

the enemy on the plains of Junin, and took a position near them, hoping that the inferiority of their numbers would induce the royalists to engage them. The event answered their expectations; for relying on his superior numbers, the enemy made a furious charge on the patriot cavalry, which sustained the shock with great firmness. The conflict was sharp, and in the successive charges, each party, at times, seemed to have the advantage; but at length the royalists were thrown into confusion, beaten, and compelled to fall back on their infantry for safety, which had continued its retreat towards Jauja, and was many miles from the scene of action when the battle was decided. The enemy sustained a severe loss; two hundred and thirty-five lay dead on the field, among whom were ten chiefs and officers; many were wounded and dispersed, and eighty made prisoners, besides which, three hundred horses were taken, with all their equipments, and immense spoil. The loss of the patriots was sixty killed and wounded. This action took place on the 6th of August.—This brilliant success, almost annihilating the enemy's cavalry, on which they principally relied, at the commencement of the campaign, and had a very formidable influence on the army and the people of Peru.

Two days after this victory, the republicans followed in pursuit of the enemy towards the valley of Jauja. From the battle of Junin, no important action occurred until the 9th of December. After much skilful manœuvering on both sides, general Sucre, commanding the liberating army, consisting of the united forces of Colombia and Peru, took a position at Ayacucho early in December, near the enemy, who was posted on a height. On the 8th of the month, some skirmishes took place; and on the following day, the enemy attacked the liberating army; his right was commanded by general Valdez, composed of four battalions and two squadrons of huzzars, with four field pieces; his centre by general Monet, consisting of five battalions; and general Villalobos commanded the left, composed of four battalions, with seven pieces of artillery. The remainder of the enemy's cavalry formed a reserve in the rear. General Cordova commanded the right of the liberating army, with the second division of Colombia, consisting of the battalions of Bogota and the voltigeurs of Pinchinco and Caraccas; general Llamar commanded the left, composed of the battalions of Peru, and three legions of Colombians, and the division of general Lara formed the reserve. According to the official returns, there were 9,310 of the Spanish army, commanded by Canterac, the viceroy, in

person; and only 5,780 of the liberating army, headed by the intrepid general Sucre. But although the two armies were unequal in numbers, they were both ardent to engage, and both confident of victory. The Colombian division marched with *supported arms*, in the most intrepid manner, and took their station near the Spanish line, and opened a fire with such coolness and destructive effect, that the enemy soon began to give way; and in spite of all their efforts to maintain their ground, they were driven back and thrown into confusion. The division of Peru on the left, experienced a more vigourous resistance, and was re-enforced by general Lara with two battalions of the reserve, consisting of the Colombian guards. This enabled the left, as well as the right, to gain ground on the enemy; and in a few moments, nothing could resist the impetuosity of the troops of the united army. The second squadron of huzzars of Junin, made a brillaint charge on the enemy's cavalry posted on the right of general Valdez, and repulsed them; the Colombian grenadiers alighted and charged the Spanish infantry on foot, and the regiment of huzzars of Colombia, charged with their lances the grenadiers of the viceroy's guard, and put them to the rout. The ardour and impetuosity of the republican troops soon decided the battle, which was short, but terrible. The slaughter was immense for the numbers engaged. The enemy had 2,600 men killed and wounded on the field of action, including the viceroy wounded, and six generals killed. The united army sustained a loss of eight hundred and twenty-three killed and wounded, of which there were one general, eight officers, and three hundred men killed, and six generals, thirty-four officers, and four hundred eighty men wounded. What remained of the Spanish army, capitulated, and a treaty was signed on the field of battle, between the viceroy Canterac and general Sucre, whereby all the royal troops in Peru, all military posts, all royal artillery and magazines, and the whole of Peru occupied by the Spanish, were surrendered to the patriots as the trophies of the glorious victory of Ayacucho.

This is one of the most distinguished victories which the annals of the South American revolution afford, whether considered with reference to the brilliancy of the achievment, its decisive character, or its important consequences. It annihilated the Spanish power, and liberated all of Lower Peru.

The liberator addressed a proclamation to the Peruvians, and another to the army of Colombia. In the former, he says, that "the army has fulfilled the promise he made to them in its name, of emancipating Peru;" and adds, that the time has

now arrived that he must, also, fulfil the promise he had made to them, of divesting himself of the dictatorship the moment victory declared their freedom, and sealed their destiny."

General Rodel, who commanded the castle of Callao, refused to comply with the terms of capitulation, entered into by his superior officer and governor, Canterac; in consequence of which, that fortress was immediately invested by the Colombian troops, and rigourously blockaded by a naval force, part of the navy of Chile being placed under the orders of Bolivar by the government of that country for that purpose.

On the 10th of December, the Peruvian congress was installed, on which occasion the liberator transmitted to them an interesting message, containing a resignation of his authority.

He speaks of the internal disorders of the country—the exertions he had made to remedy them, and of their relations with the other independent governments. "Colombia," he observes, their ally and confederate, had employed her army, her navy, and her treasure, in fighting the common enemy, making the cause her own; which ought to convince the congress of the infinite value that she attaches to a close confederation of all the new states The governments of Mexico, Guatamala, and Buenos Ayres, had offered their services; but our rapid successes had rendered their assistance unnecessary." The agent of Colombia had been accredited, and the consuls of Great Britain, the United States, and of Colombia, had presented themselves in the capital, to exercise their functions. He speaks, with confidence, of the probability of England and France recognizing the independence of Peru on being informed of its complete liberation, and the entire extinction of the Spanish power.

The constituent congress passed a decree, by which they conferred, on general Bolivar, the supreme, political, and military command of the republic, until the installation of the congress prescribed by the constitution, to take place in 1826. They voted him one million of dollars for his eminent services, which he magnanimously declined accepting. They also ordered, that an equestrian statue of the liberator should be erected in the constitutional square of Lima, and a medal struck, with a bust of the hero on one side, and on the other this inscription:—"To our Liberator, Simon Bolivar." These proceedings of the congress were communicated to the illustrious Bolivar, by its president, whose answer contains the most noble and patriotic sentiments.

After the liberation of the interior provinces of Lower Peru,

general Sucre proceeded to Upper Peru, where general Olaneta still held out against the patriots, and refused to agree to the terms of capitulation; but his force was soon dispersed, by the invincible army under the brave Sucre. General Olaneta is said to have been killed in some of the engagements that took place on this occasion; but other accounts represent him as having gone over to the patriots, and joined the liberating army. The last intelligence from this quarter, represents the liberating army, under general Sucre, to have possession of all the provinces of Upper Peru, with the exception of Chiquitos, which has, recently, been invaded and possessed by a division of the Brazilian army.

These troops are from the interior province of Matogrosso in Brazil; and according to the official note of the Brazilian commander, dated the 26th of April, 1825, he took possession of the province, in pursuance of a capitulation which had been concluded between the chief of Matogrosso, and the governor Chiquitos. He says that the province had been delivered up to the government of his Brazillian majesty, and incorporated by the unanimous acclamations of the people, with the *grand* empire of Brazil. This note, addressed to general Sucre, was answered by him on the 11th of May, in a spirited manner. He says that Ramos, the commandant and governor of Chiquitos, had no powers for a negotiation with the authorities of Brazil, or any foreign power; and that his delivering up the province of Chiquitos was an act of treason; and that the Brazilian general committed an aggression in occupying it. Sucre tells him that his government desires peace and friendship with all the American states, but fears war from no government; and informs the Brazilian general, that he has ordered the commandant general of Santa Cruz to march against him, unless he immediately evacuates the province, and not only to expel him from Peru, but to penetrate into the territory which had declared itself their enemy, and to avenge the outrage it had committed.

This unprincipled and perfidious invasion of Peru, by an army of Brazil, excited great indignation at Buenos Ayres, as well as in Lower Peru. General Arenales, commanding an army of Buenos Ayres, had arrived according to the last accounts, at Chuquisaca, and was received with joy, by the inhabitants, as was also general Sucre. The liberator, who had been to Cuzco, had not arrived the last of May, but was expected, and general Sucre had gone out to receive him. By the last intelligence, it was represented, that preparations were making in Upper Peru for a meeting of a congress of

deputies of four provinces, at Chuquisaca, or La Plata. Four deputies to the congress were appointed for the province of Charcas. The object of this congress was, to decide whether the four provinces of Upper Peru should declare themselvs independent, unite with the republic of Lower Peru, or be annexed to the territory of the United Provinces of Rio de La Plata, or Buenos Ayres. The liberating army from Lower Peru, and also that of Buenos Ayres, are to be removed, so that the congress may be left entirely free in their deliberations. There can be little doubt about the determination of this important question. Should the two Perus become united into one state, under a free and enlightened government, the Peruvian republic will form an interesting and wealthy portion of America, and enjoying independence and peace, can hardly fail of speedily becoming a populous, flourishing, and powerful nation

HISTORY

AND PRESENT STATE,

OF THE

UNITED PROVINCES

CHAPTER X.

Extent and boundaries—description of the country—the pampas—rivers, bays and harbours—productions and commerce—civil divisions—population and principal towns—government, army, navy, and finances—character of the people—amusements—the herdsmen of the plains.

The republic of the United Provinces of South America, or Rio de la Plata, extends from the northern boundary of Paraguay in about lat. 23° north, to St. Georges bay, in lat. 45° south, comprehending 22° of latitude, or 1529 miles from north to south. On its northern boundary from the Brazilian territory to the Andes, it is nearly 900 miles; but on its southern boundary it is not more than 300 across the continent, from St. Georges' bay to the gulf of Guaytecas, and less than 200 miles to the Andes. These limits do not include Upper Peru, which was attached to the vice royalty of Buenos Ayres, in 1778. The present boundaries of the republic are north on Upper Peru and Brazil, west on the Andes or Chile, and according to Pazos' map, partly on the Gulf of Guaytecas; south on Patagonia, east on Brazil and the Atlantic ocean.

The territory included within the above mentioned limits, is

mostly comprised within the great valley of the La Plata and its branches, one of the most extraordinary vallies on earth; both with respect to its magnitude, and its peculiar soil and surface. The region which is watered by the vast river La Plata and its branches, rises towards the west into lofty mountains, whose bases extend into immense plains which terminate on the La Plata and the Atlantic ocean. The eastern boundaries of this valley, are mountainous ridges, not far from the coast of Brazil, whence the eastern branches of the La Plata have their sources. Perhaps there is no country in the world, that presents so level a surface, as the republic of the United Provinces of South America, with the exception of the elevated tracts at the head branches of the rivers, near the extreme boundaries of the great valley. The country west and south of the La Plata is one wide extended plain, embracing all the variety from the richest alluvial to the high, broken, sterile plain; most of this vast level tract is destitute of timber except near the borders of the rivers. The lower section of this interminable plain, extending from the northern part of the province of Cordova south, on the borders of the river La Plata and the Atlantic, far into Patagonia, and from the river and the coast into the interior to the highlands, at the foot of the Andes, is usually called the *Pampas*, and extends nearly 1500 miles from north to south, with a breadth of nearly five hundred miles in many places. Over all this immense space, there is scarcely a tree or shrub, or a single perennial plant to be seen. There are neither hills nor eminences and the undulations are so gentle, as only tob e perceived by taking a long view over its surface. The keen winds called *Pamperos* sweep over this unsheltered plain without the least obstruction.

The surface of the earth, appears to be a soft, black, rich soil, without stone, gravel, or sand. On the banks of some of the rivers and in some other places, reddish clay appears on the surface.

Many of the rivers intersecting the Pampas, are brackish, and salt lakes abound. Near the La Plata, and other considerable streams, there are a few trees and some shrubbery, but most of the lesser streams creep through the plains like crooked ditches, without their courses being marked either by trees, shrubs, or vallies. The whole of the pampas, is rich pasture, and exceedingly productive in grass; a species of thistle also abounds, which grows from two to seven feet high.

The only tree that seems to flourish is the Embudo, or pe-

rennial Poke, the trunk of which is a mere watery pulp, and is useless for fuel.

The peach tree thrives when cultivated, as does also the olive and fig tree; and the soil produces good wheat, barley and Indian corn, but the crops sometimes fail.

The pampas is chiefly useful for pasturage; on its immense surface are fed innumerable herds of horned cattle, horses and sheep; deer, ostriches, and wild dogs, also abound. Thousands of these animals may often be seen at one view.

The more elevated plains to the north and west of the Pampas, are likewise generally destitute of timber, except on their water courses, but have a soil more dry and sandy. The rivers here are more numerous and the country is copiously supplied with pure water. This region is also well adapted to pasturage, particularly to the rearing of horses, mules and sheep; and many districts are suitable for cultivation, and produce grain and fruit, of which they yield great abundance. The country east of the La Plata, has generally a waving, or an undulated surface, every where abundantly irrigated with never-failing springs and streams of the purest water. *This* tract is generally found clothed with stately forests, with the exception of some of the lower districts on the La Plata, and has a rich and fertile soil producing in great abundance, all the varied productions of temperate and tropical regions.

Waters.—The great river La Plata imbodies most of the interior waters of the United Provinces. The principal head water of the river La Plata, is the Paraguay, which rises in lat. 13° south, in Brazil, and after a southerly course of 1250 miles, receiving numerous branches and passing through the great lake or morass of the Xaraes, it assumes the name of La Plata, at its junction with the river Parana, about 750 miles from the mouth of the La Plata. The rivers Paraguay and La Plata are navigable for such sea vessels, as can cross the three fathom bank, in the La Plata, below Buenos Ayres, to the city of Assumption, nine hundred and seventy-seven miles from the sea; and they are said to be boatable for 1500 miles into the interior. The great eastern branches of the La Plata, are the Parana and Uruguay. The river Parana is formed by two branches, the Rio Grande, which has a course of 400 miles, and the Iva, which has a course of 350 miles; these united streams assuming the name of Parana, after a course of about 900 miles in a southerly direction, unite with the Paraguay as has been already mentioned. The Parana, is said to be navigable about 500 miles. The Uruguay has its source in Brazil and runs in a south easterly direction about

900 miles, and unites with the La Plata, above Buenos Ayres. The Uruguay, receives a large branch called the Negro, which has a course of 340 miles. The principal western branches of the La Plata and Paraguay, are the Pilcomayo, which rises in Upper Peru, and runs a south easterly course, of more than 1000 miles, emptying into the Paraguay by two mouths, more than fifty miles apart, forty miles below the city of Assumption. The head waters of this river, have already been described in the article on Upper Peru.

The navigation of the Pilcomayo it is supposed might be extended into the heart of Upper Peru.

The Rio Grande is formed by two branches, the Bermejio and Jujuy; the first receives the waters of the vallies of Tarija; the whole course of this stream and its branches, is more than 800 miles in a south-easterly direction, and it is said to be navigable 700 miles. It discharges its waters into the Paraguay, fifty miles above the mouth of the Parana.

The river Salado which unites with the Paraguay at Santa Fe, is formed by the Rio Del Passage and the Rio Tala, and has a course of 800 miles in a south eastern direction.

There are two rivers by the name of Saladillo; the upper Saladillo empties into the La Plata below the Salado; the lower Saladillo unites with the La Plata, about fifty miles above cape St. Anthony.

There are several rivers that discharge their waters into the Atlantic below the river La Plata, among which are the Colorado of the south, and the Camerones; and others that are discharged into St. Matthias Bay. In the interior, is the river Dulce, and some others, which are lost in salt lakes near Cordova.

Although the united provinces, claim an extent of coast of more than eleven degrees of latitude, containing, besides the great bay of La Plata, the bays of St. Matthias, and St. George, yet there are no considerable ports but those on the La Plata.

Productions and Commerce.—Enjoying every variety of climate of the temperate and tropical regions, and blest with extensive tracts of fertile soil, the republic of the United provinces possesses ample agricultural resources; but its immense herds of cattle, horses, and sheep, that graze on its extensive plains, constitute its principal source of wealth and of commerce. These have been estimated at 1,200,000 cattle, and 3,000,000 of horses, which roam in vast herds over the interminable savannahs of the Pampas. The principal articles for exportation are included in the following list: hides, tallow,

jerked beef, wool of various qualities, not only from the common sheep, but of the Gunaco and Vicuna: skins of lions, tigers, and wild dogs, horns, hair, and the *Matte* or *Yerba* of Paraguay.

Civil Divisions, Population and Principal Towns.—The fourteen following provinces are claimed as belonging to the territory of the republic of the United Provinces. *Buenos Ayres*, the first in importance, is situated in the south-eastern section of the republic, and is estimated to comprise an area of 50,000 square miles, composed entirely of the pampas territory, adapted to pasturage; but produces some fruit and grain when cultivated. The population of this province is estimated at 120,000, and including Indians at 250,000. The city of Buenos Ayres, the capital of the republic, its principal commercial town, and the seat of government for the province, is situated in lat. 34° 37' south, on the south-west bank of the river, La Plata, about 200 miles from its mouth. The river is here thirty miles across, and is merely an open road; the opposite bank is low and rarely visible. The creek Reachucio falls into the La Plata, on the east border of the town. The city extends along the bank nearly three miles; the streets intersect each other at right angles, dividing the town into solid squares of 150 yards each. The houses are generally two stories high, and built with terrace roofs. It is defended by a fort, and its public buildings consist of a cathedral, several convents, nunneries, churches, and a town house, and the building formerly appropriated to the royal monopolies. The number of dwelling houses is estimated at 6000, mostly built of brick, and they generally have gardens attached to them.—Among the public institutions, are an university, an academy, and a library containing nearly 20,000 volumes. There are a number of public schools, and the means of education have been greatly extended since the revolution. The city is accommodated with several bookstores, and newspaper establishments devoted to the republican principles of the government, and the independence of the country. The population of Buenos Ayres is estimated at from 62 to 70,000; about one half are whites, and the other, people of colour, of various mixtures.

The climate is healthy and temperate, but subject to the pamperos, or south-west winds, during the prevalence of which, the atmosphere is remarkably dry. In the vicinity of Buenos Ayres are some very productive farms, and wheat and corn are abundantly raised with little attention. Peach orchards also abound, and are cultivated to supply the town with

fuel. Buenos Ayres was founded in 1535, by Mendoza; but it was afterwards destroyed by the Indians, and rebuilt in 1580. It is situated at the distance of 1215 miles from Potosi, and 2865 miles from Lima, in a south-easterly direction. The principal towns and villages in the province, besides Buenos Ayres, are Ensenada, St. Isidro, Las Conchas, on the river La Plata, and Luxan, on the plains.

Paraguay, the next most important province. is bounded by the river Paraguay on the west, the Parana on the east and south, and by Brazil north, comprising about 43,000 square miles. Its population is estimated at 110,000, and 300,000, including Indians, which are numerous in this region. This province is considered as the fairest portion of the La Platan territory; its climate is delightful; the face of the country is not mountainous, nor any where flat; it is well supplied with a great variety of streams of pure water; its soil is every where found to be exceedingly fertile and productive, and was originally covered with rich and variegated forests of stately timber. Grain, cotton, sugar, and excellent fruit, are produced abundantly, as well as the singular vegetable called *matte*, or the *yerba Paraguay*, so extensively used in South America as a tea, or beverage.

The capital of this province is the ancient city of Assumption, founded in 1538, situated in lat. 25° 16′ south, on the east bank of the river Paraguay, 977 miles from the ocean, at the head of vessel navigation. The population of this province is not ascertained. Paraguay has never joined the union, but maintains an independent government, under a chief, called a dictator.

Below Paraguay, Principally on the east side of La Plata, are the provinces of *Entre Rios* and *Banda Oriental*, the former containing 106,500 square miles, and a population of 25,000, and extends across the republic to the Patagonian territory; the latter contains 86,000 square miles, and 45,000 inhabitants.

The province of Entre Rios is very fertile, and abounds with excellent timber, cattle, skins, fruit, wine, and matte. The Banda Oriental is equally fertile, and its northern sections are clothed with lofty forests; its southern part is an open country, but abundantly supplied with pure water, and enjoys a salubrious climate and luxuriant soil, adapted either to pasturage, or grain and fruit. The city of Santa Fe, its capital, is pleasantly situated on the right bank of the La Plata, at the confluence of the Salado, 300 miles above Buenos Ayres, in lat. 31° 40′ south. It contains a population of

8,000, and was founded in 1573. The city of Corientes is situated in latitude 27° 27′ south, twenty miles below the mouth of the Parana; it contains about 6,000 inhabitants, and was founded in 1558.

The principal town in Banda Oriental is the city of Monte Video, which was founded in 1731, and is situated in lat. 34° 55′ south, on the north shore of the La Plata. The harbour, which, together with the town, derives its name from a high mountain in the vicinity, has sufficient depth of water for the first rate ships. The town is strongly fortified, and has a population estimated at 10,000. This town has been in possession of the Portuguese and Brazillians since 1817, as has the whole province of Banda Oriental, until the present year. The other towns in Banda Oriental are Maldonado and Colonia, a port of the La Plata.

Cordova.—This province is composed nearly of the territory which was formerly the colonial jurisdiction of Cordova. It is bounded by the territory of Santa Fe and the Rio Salado on the east; by the Patigonian boundary over the Pampas on the south; thence, on the west by a line to the Sierra de Comichigeles, and along that ridge to its northern extremity; thence in a northeast direction, including the town of Tamisqui, on the Rio Dulce; and thence across the Rio Salado. Its capital, the city of Cordova, is a neat town delightfully situated on the Rio Primero, in latitude 31° 30′ south, and was founded in 1573; it contains 10,000 inhabitants, and is the seat of an university. The climate is healthy and temperate, and the adjacent territory highly productive. The population of the whole province is estimated at 75,000, and it measures about 105,000 square miles in extent. Its productions are cattle, wood, skins, fruit, wine, tobacco and lime.

The province of *Punta San Luis* has been carved out of the easterly portion of the royal province of Cuyo. It contains a population of not much more than 10,000. Its chief town and seat of government is San Luis de la Punta, or the point of St. Lewis, so called from its being situated at the butt end of one of the ridges of the mountains of Cordova. The town contains about 2,000 inhabitants, and is agreeably situated in a well watered valley. The town of San Luis was made one of the principal places of confinement for the prisoners of war captured in Chile, and on the frontiers of Peru. This province is the poorest, and has been always the most faithful to the union. It contains about 40,000 square miles, and its productions are cattle, fruit and wood.

To the westward of the territory of San Luis, stretching

along the great Cordillera, which separates it from Chile, as far south as the Rio Blanco, lies the province of *Mendoza*; one of the largest of those which have been formed out of the colonial one of Cuyo. Its whole population is estimated at 38,000; of which about 21,000 are found in the capital and its suburbs, the town of Mendoza, which is very advantageously situated on one of the branches of the Tunuyan, immediately at the eastern foot of the Andes, in lat. 34° 20′ south. The province contains about 38,000 square miles. Its productions are fruit, wine, brandy, peltry, and precious metals. To the north of Mendoza, lying along the eastern foot of the Andes, and extending as far north as the ridge, which separates the waters of the Rio Magana from those of Rio Tamatina, is that fine territory bounded on the east by Cordova, formerly called the valley, now the province of *San Juan*, which includes the residue of what was formerly comprehended under the name of Cuyo. It embraces a tract of about 36,000 square miles, and contains a population of 34,000, about 19,000 of which are in its capital, San Juan de la Frontera, situated in latitude 32° south, at the eastern foot of the Andes, north of Mendoza. Its productions are fruit, wine, brandy, peltry, and the precious metals.

Still further north, is that pleasant valley, now called the province of *Rioja*, which is watered, and rendered fruitful by the Anguslasta. Its whole surface may be estimated at twenty-two thousand, four hundred square miles. The population of this province amounts to twenty-two thousand, and its capital town is Todos Santos de Rioja Nueva. It yields fruit, wine, brandy, peltry, and precious metals.

Turning immediately to the east, is found the delightful valley of Catamarca, which now, with that of Conando, next to it on the north, forms the province of *Catamarca*. The adjacent ridges form a great rampart around these two vallies, and are the acknowledged and natural limits of the province. It contains 36,000 souls, and its chief city and seat of government is Catamarca. The extent of its territory does not exceed eleven thousand, two hundred square miles, and affords cotton, fruit, grain, wine, and brandy.

The province of *Santiago*, lies directly to the east of the valley of Catamarca. It is bounded on the south by the territory of Cordova, on the north by a line running in a north easterly direction, from the head of the Hondo to the La Guyra de Molares, and by the Indian territory of the great Llanos de Monso on the east. This province embraces a territory of 40,000 square miles, and 44,000 souls. Its chief city and

seat of government is Santiago del Estero, situated on the banks of the Rio Dulce, in which there are about ten or fifteen thousand inhabitants. It is in latitude 27° 46′ south, and was founded in 1570. Cattle, wood, and tobacco, are the principal productions of this province. Along the whole northern frontier of Santiago, and of the valley of Conande, lies the province of *Tucuman*. The population of this province amounts to 45,000. Its chief city and seat of government is St. Miguel de Mucuman, situated on the Rio de St Miguel, which unites with the Rio Dulce not far below the town, which is in latitude 27° 25′ south, and was founded in 1549.

The province comprehends about 50,000 square miles of territory. The city of Tucuman was once honoured with the presence of the congress. Its productions are cattle, tobacco, and wood, of various kinds.

Rising from the unbroken plains, and proceeding still farther to the northward, is the province of *Salta*, lying in level spaces among the elevated spurs of the Andes.—This province contains 50,000 inhabitants, and an extent of 41,000 square miles of territory. Its chief city is Salta, pleasantly situated in a valley, surrounded by mountains in lat. 24° 15′ south, and was founded in 1582. It has seven churches, and 9000 inhabitants. Its trade is extensive with Upper and Lower Peru, and Chile. This province produces cattle, wood, tobacco, and peltry.

The province of *Jujuy* lies in a northerly direction from the last, stretching along the whole northern frontier of Salta, and extending westward to the ridges in which are found the sources of the Rio de St. Salvador, thence with its summits as far north as the ridge which surrounds St. Bernado, and along the mountains of Tacsora; thence descending by the eastern branch of the Rio Tarija to the territory of Salta, embracing a mountainous tract of thirty thousand square miles. The population of Jujuy amounts to 25,000. Its chief city is St. Salvador de Jujuy, situated on the Rio Grande de Jujuy, or de Aquilotes, in lat. 23° 5′ south, founded in 1593. This district affords cattle, wood, and tobacco.

Population.—The population of the states, belonging to the present confederacy, according to the latest estimates, amounts to nearly 700,000, exclusive of civilized Indians, which may, probably, swell the aggregate to 1,200,000, in the whole United Provinces. The various races which compose the population, are the same as in other parts of what was Spanish America. The Spaniards have greatly diminished

since the revolution, whilst other natives of Europe have increased. The Creoles, or descendants of Europeans, as in all the rest of America, comprise the most efficient, the most patriotic, and intelligent class of the population. The people of colour, comprehending the Indians, Africans, and the various mixed races, constitute the labouring class, as in other parts of Spanish America, and make, when disciplined, good soldiers.

Government, army, navy, and finances.—A governing junta was established at Buenos Ayres, on the 25th of May, 1810, from whence the country dates the commencement of the revolution, and its political regeneration. In March, 1811, a congress, composed of deputies from the different provinces, was convened, and a new junta appointed. After this, various changes and revolutions took place in the government, some of which occasioned civil wars. A triumvirate, or executive of three persons, was established, and this was followed by a single executive, called a director. But the government continued unstable, and shaken by factions—the dissentions of parties, and the ambitious designs of individuals, until March, 1816, when the election of Juan Martin Pueyredon, supreme director, quieted the factions, and gave stability to the government for a considerable period. This was followed by a declaration of independence by the general congress on the 9th of July, 1816. Since that period, until recently, no attempt has been made to organize a general government; one is now in successful operation, and adopted by most of the provinces. Measures have lately been taken to organize and maintain an efficient army for the purpose of defence; very little attention has yet been paid to the formation of a navy. The actual revenue of the provinces belonging to the republic, in 1817, was 3,037,187 dollars; the national debt, at the same time, amounted to $1,438,054, and the property, belonging to the government, was valued at $19,055,597, exclusive of the public lands. The principal source of revenue is that derived from duties on imports and exports.

Character of the people, &c.—The best and fairest portion of the population of the United Provinces, is said to be found in the city of Buenos Ayres. That city, almost from its foundation, has been a seat of government, and the emporium of all the foreign commerce of the country; its inhabitants have, consequently, had much intercourse with foreign nations, and of late years, particularly, they have had the means of information poured in upon them, which, according to every account, have not been neglected. They are in general

very intelligent, and very unanimous in their determination to support their independence and secure their freedom. The lower classes have been materially benefited by the revolution, and they are perfectly sensible of the happy melioration of their condition. With very few shades of difference, however, the population of the interior cities and towns is similar to that of Buenos Ayres, as to intelligence and general information. In the cities, are found the great body of the leading and influential citizens in the union, and their numbers are, by no means, inconsiderable. These it is, who have given an impulse to public opinion, and supported the struggle for liberty and independence, in which the country has been engaged for fifteen years. The herdsmen or peasantry of the pampas and plains, form a very considerable proportion of the population of the country. Thinly scattered over the great pastures, those residing at a distance from the cities, have most commonly, each one, the charge of an *estancia*, many leagues in extent. Having little society, they are totally illiterate, lead an indolent life, and dwell in an immense waste, in continual solitude. Their habitations are constructed in the simplest forms, consisting in general of low mud walls, thatched with long grass. A few peach trees stand scattered around in the pampas; but the embudo, a single tree, seems to be the herdsman's favourite shade, and designates his habitation. Being taught and practised in riding from infancy, the herdsmen are, perhaps, the most expert horsemen in the world; much riding is required by his situation and mode of life, and to ride well is his highest pleasure and pride. The herdsman, either from the custom of his Spanish ancestors, or from the real and constant utility of it, is never without a long butcher's knife, which he wears about his waist. His cloak is of the same description as that formerly used by the natives—a parti-coloured garment, which seems to be perfectly adapted to his taste and convenience. The Indian's and herdsman's cloak, or poncho, as it is called, is a square piece of cloth somewhat larger than a dutch blanket, with a slit through the middle for the head, leaving it to hang down all round the body. This garment serves for his bed at night, and by day for his cloak, a belt, a saddle cover, or a bag, as fancy or necessity may require. The herdsmen throw the lazo with unerring aim, either on foot or on horseback at a full speed, at a fleeting animal, or retreating foe, which seldom escape. The lazo is a cord or throng, composed of strong hide, about thirty yards long, with an iron ring or a loop at one end, through which a running noose may be made in an instant; the other

end is fastened to the cincho or broad surcingle, which secures the saddle. The lazo hung in a coil to the hinder part of the saddle, is thus ready for use; and as soon as it is thrown and takes effect, the horse, as he has been taught, stands firm, or moves off with what has been caught.

The long wars that have been waged in that country, particularly on the Banda Oriental, have rendered the herdsmen of those plains as expert in the use of a gun on horseback, as of the lazo; so that they have formed a most active and efficient guerrilla cavalry, and rendered great service in the prosecution of hostilities. Such are the herdsmen of the pampas and plains, who are usually called Guachos. Hardy and brave—accustomed to fatigue—to privations and to dangers, they form the most formidable guerrilla, or partizan soldiery, that ever existed; they are of mixed blood, and usually, a third or a half, of Indian descent.

The means of education, in this, as well as in other parts of South America, have been greatly extended since the revolution. The schools have been multiplied—new institutions of learning established, and all kinds of books permitted to circulate freely. The newspaper establishments have increased, and a spirit of inquiry become prevalent among all classes of the people, by the successful exertions of the brave and intelligent citizens, by whose patriotic labours a new republic has been brought into life. Go on, illustrious people! do what has been accomplished in another part of the same hemisphere; "establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, and perpetuate the blessings of liberty to yourselves and your posterity." Go on, and be the pride of your friends, and a terror to your enemies.

The Roman Catholic religion is the established religion of the United Provinces; but the advocates of universal toleration are increasing, and the rigours of the ancient laws are considerably relaxed. The executive has recently presented to the congress the project of a law, providing for the general toleration of all religions.

HISTORY

OF THE REVOLUTION

IN THE

UNITED PROVINCES.

CHAPTER XI.

Arrival of a French brig at Buenos Ayres with despatches—proceedings of Liniers, the Viceroy—junta formed at Monte Video—R. H. de Cisneros appointed Viceroy—junta established at Buenos Ayres—Liniers defeated and taken prisoner—junta sends a deputy to Chile—an army marches against the royalists in Upper Peru—its successes—war in the Banda Oriental—dissentions among the patriots—change in the government—Monte Video besieged—army in Peru defeated—royalists defeated at Salta—new political regulations—supreme director appointed—Monte Video capitulates—quarrel with Artigas—political revolution—naval events—war with Artigas—J. M. Pueyredon—Portuguese invade Monte Video—war in Peru—Portuguese take Monte Video—events of the war in Peru.

The forcible seizure of Spain, by Napoleon Bonaparte, and his attempt to establish his authority over the American colonies, gave the first impulse to the revolution in Spanish America. In July, 1808, a French brig, with an envoy from Napoleon, arrived at Buenos Ayres with despatches to Liniers, the viceroy, informing him of the cessions of Bayonne, and the events which had taken place in the peninsula.

The viceroy called together the cabildo, and the members

of the court of audience for consultation; and it was decided, that the extraordinary occurrences in Spain required that the people should be officially made acquainted with them. Accordingly, Liniers issued a proclamation, and being himself inclined to support the pretensions of Bonaparte, and knowing that the people were strongly opposed to the transfer of the country to France, he only mentioned, in an obscure manner, this important event; but reminded the people of the indifference they had shown in the war for the succession to the crown of Spain, and concluded, by assuring them of the high opinion Napoleon entertained for them, on account of their recent triumphs over the British. He exhorted the inhabitants, in the name of Napoleon Bonaparte, to remain quiet, and preserve the public tranquility. A personal enmity subsisting between Liniers and Don F. X. Elio, the governor of Monte Video, the latter accused the viceroy of disloyalty, and forming a junta in imitation of those in Spain, he, by these means, separated the country under his command from its allegiance to the viceroy. About this time, Don J. Goyeneche, one of the agents sent to America by the junta of Seville, arrived at Monte Video with despatches from the junta; he approved of the conduct of Elio, in forming a junta, and declared that "his mission had no other object but to promote the establishment of juntas, to secure the tranquility of the country." Notwithstanding this language and conduct, which probably were occasioned by his knowing that Liniers favoured the pretensions of Bonaparte, Goyeneche, at Lima, not only opposed the establishment of juntas, but conquered the troops which supported the junta of La Paz.

After the establishment of the central junta in Spain, Liniers was diplaced, and Don B. H. de Cisneros appointed to succeed him; and the authority of Spain was maintained at Buenos Ayres, as it was in the other governments of Spanish America, until after the defeat of the patriots in the peninsula, the overthrow and dispersion of the central junta, and the establishment of a regency. Intelligence of these events reached Buenos Ayres, in May, 1810. Cisneros, the viceroy, informed the people of the disastrous and alarming events which had taken place in Spain, and at the same time intimated a doubt or uncertainty, which he felt as to his own authority. The cabildo, or municipality, were induced, by this declaration, to present to the viceroy a petition praying for the assembling of a congress to decide on the course proper to pursue, at such a conjuncture. The petition was granted, and the congress assembled on the 22d of May, which recom-

mended the forming of a junta; and on the 25th, this was done, and the junta commenced its session.

Its first act was to depute Don J. J. Passo to acquaint the inhabitants of Monte Video of the events which had occurred at Buenos Ayres. This intelligence occasioned the calling of an assembly of the inhabitants in that city, who approved of the proceedings at Buenos Ayres, and agreed to support the new government. The Spaniards, however, at Monte Video, were violently opposed to the revolution at Buenos Ayres, and causing the troops to be landed from on board the Spanish vessels in the harbour, the royal party became strengthened, and bold in their opposition. The Spanish chiefs of Paraguay, Cordova, and Chuquisaca, were actively opposed to the junta, and the late viceroy, Cisneros, and the members of the audience, secretly assisted them, and contrived to overthrow the new government. The former viceroy, Liniers, was also among the enemies of the junta; and having raised a force of two thousand men, he laid waste the environs of Cordova, to prevent the approach of the popular troops. The conspiracy being discovered, and the part taken in it by the viceroy and the members of the audience, they were seized, and ordered to quit the country, and embarked for the Canary Islands.—The junta appointed colonel Ocampo to command the army, who attacked Liniers, and took him prisoner, his troops having principally deserted him. Liniers, Concha, the late governor of Cordova, Allende, Moreno, and Ridriguez, who had been the most active opposers of the revolution in that quarter, were condemned and executed.

An English ship of war having assisted the royalists, and opposed the commerce of Buenos Ayres, the junta remonstrated against the conduct of captain Elliott, its commander, to lord Strangford, the British ambassador at Rio Janeiro, who ordered him not to interfere in the dispute between the royalists and the popular government.

Sensible of the importance of extending the revolution to Chile, the junta despatched Don A. A. Jonte, who was well known to the inhabitants in that country, to Santiago, to hasten the forming of a junta there, which measure had the desired effect The royal chief was deposed, a junta established, and Jonte was continued there in the capacity of charge de affairs from the government of Buenos Ayres; and obtained from the junta of Chile, 300 troops for the assistance of his government, at a critical conjuncture.

The army under Ocampo having been considerably re-enforced, he was ordered to march against the Spaniards, who had

collected in Upper Peru, under colonel Cordova. The royalists were defeated in several engagements, and Cordova and Nieto, president of the audiencia of Chuquisaca, were taken prisoners and shot. These successes led to the occupation of Alto Peru, as far as the river Desaquadero, which is the boundary between the territories of Peru and Buenos Ayres. The army was augmented to five thousand, and Don A. Balcarce, who had obtained the victories over the royalists, appointed its commander. The army was accompanied by Castelli, a member of the junta of Buenos Ayres, as its representative, and also as general governour of Upper Peru. With this victorious army it was intended to invade that part of Peru where the viceroy Abascal maintained the Spanish authority; but Castelli, having received proposals from the municipality of Lima for the suspension of hostilities, as a preliminary step to peace, the invasion was suspended. The municipality sent at the same time the eleven propositions which had been submitted to the Cortes of Spain by the members of that body, representing the American colonies, and believing that they had been acceded to by the Cortes, they offered them as the basis of an accommodation, or treaty of peace. These propositions were sent by Castelli to the junta, who then entered into an armistice with Goyeneche, commanding the royal troops.

The danger on the side of Peru was now considered at an end; but a storm was gathering in another quarter. Velasco, governor of Paraguay, had raised an army to attack the new government of Buenos Ayres, which ordered 800 men under Don M. Belgrano, against Velasco. Don N. Yedros commanded the royalist army of Paraguay. An engagement took place on the banks of the Tacuari, and the army of Buenos Ayres was defeated, which led Belgrano to propose a conference with Yedros, the result of which was that the patriot army was allowed to retreat without molestation. Velasco was afterwards deposed by the people, and a junta established for Paraguay, which formed an alliance with Buenos Ayres.

The regency of Spain had appointed Elio captain-general of the provinces of Rio de la Plata, and in that capacity he governed the province of Monte Video, or the Banda Oriental: and was now the most dangerous and powerful enemy with which the popular government of Buenos Ayres had to contend. Don J. Artigas, a native of Monte Video, and a captain in the royal service, having, in consequence of a personal difficulty, determined to abandon the royal cause, applied to the junta of Buenos Ayres early in 1811, for assistance, in arms and ammunition, to enable him to excite a revolt in the

Banda Oriental. The junta, anxious to destroy the royal authority in the provinces east of the river La Plata, not only furnished the supplies requested, but ordered the army which had withdrawn from Paraguay, to proceed to the Banda Oriental, to co-operate with Artigas, who had collected a body of guerrillas. Rondeau was appointed to the command of the troops of Buenos Ayres. In the contests with the British in 1807, he was made a prisoner and carried to England, and from thence he went to Spain, and served some time in the war in the peninsula. After gaining several less important advantages, Rondeau and Artigas obtained a signal victory over the royalists at Las Piedras, in May, 1811; all the royal troops which survived being made prisoners, together with their commander. The victors immediately marched against Monte Video, and having received re-enforcements from Buenos Ayres, they laid siege to the city.

At Buenos Ayres, as well as in the other parts of Spanish America, the patriots soon became divided among themselves, and the cause of the revolution suffered greatly from their dissentions. There were two parties in the junta, one headed by Don C. Saavedra, the president, and the other by doctor Mareno, the secretary, who accused the president of arabitious views, and Saavedra charged the doctor with being the leader of the mob. The president, with a view to strengthen his party, procured a decree, that the deputies nominated by the provinces to the general congress, should also be entitled to seats in the junta, whereby its members became greatly increased. This plan succeeded, and deprived Moreno of his influence, which induced him to resign his situation. He was afterwards sent to England to solicit the protection of the British government, and died on his passage.

The dissentions among the civil rulers extended to the military, and occasioned two parties in the army, which consisted of three corps, commanded, one by colonel Diasvelez, one by Viamont, and one under the immediate command of brigadier Balcarce, commander in chief. The first and last declared for Mareno's party, and Viamont for the president's.

Notwithstanding the armistice, which had not yet expired, Goyeneche, taking advantage of these dissentions, in July, 1811, attacked Diasvelez, who, not being supported by the other corps, was easily overcome; and his defeat compelled the other two divisions to retreat, and enabled Goyeneche to take possession of Upper Peru. Pueyredon, president of the audiencia of Chuquisaca, was chosen by the troops to command them, in preference to their former leader, and he and

Viamont retired to the province of Salta. Goyeneche, was checked in his career, by the bands of guerrillas which overrun the provinces he occupied, and constantly harrassed his troops; and being greatly exasperated at this annoyance, he determined to shoot every prisoner he took, and put to death every partizan of the revolution who fell into his hands. This bloody and savage measure did not produce the expected effect; the guerrilas still kept the field, and prevented Goyeneche from advancing into the low country. The junta appointed Saavedra commander in chief, and ordered him to raise a new army. Having left the capital with officers and muskets for this purpose, his enemies, taking advantage of his absence, accused him of ambition and arbitrary conduct, particularly in having by his influence obtained the decree of the 6th of April, exiling Larrea, Pena, Posadas and others, who opposed his ambitious designs. Saavedra was deposed, and a change in the government determined on, the junta being considered too numerous and slow in its discussions to save the country in so alarming a crisis. The municipality of the city called a meeting of the inhabitants in September, which resolved that a new government should be performed, consisting of only three members and two secretaries. M. Sarratea, F. Chiclana, and J. J. Passo, were entrusted with the powers of the government; and B. Rivadavia and J. Perez, chosen secretaries. Regulations were adopted, providing for the renewal of the members of the executive; a meeting, composed of deputies of the municipalities of the provinces, was to be held every six months, when one member of the government was to vacate his seat, and another to supply his place, to be chosen by the deputies. The liberty of the press was guaranteed, and a junta was to be established annually, who, together with the municipality, were to have exclusive jurisdiction of all questions, of the violation of the liberty of the press.

In the meantime, Artigas and Rondeau prosecuted the siege against Monte Video with vigour and success; and the captain-general, Elio, being unable to hold out long without assistance, applied to the Portugese government in the Brazils for succor, and by the influence of the Princess Charlotte, sister to Ferdinand the Seventh, with Souza the minister, Elio obtained four thousand men, besides money and jewels from the Princess herself. The troops were commanded by general Souza brother of the minister; but, notwithstanding their arrival at Monte Video, Elio offered terms of peace to the government of Buenos Ayres, and in November, 1811, a

treaty was concluded.—The Portugese troops were to return to their own territory, and the army of Buenos Ayres to raise the siege and evacuate the Banda Oriental, as far as the river Uruguay. The siege was raised, but the Portuguese troops, instead of being withdrawn according to the treaty, committed acts of hostility in the teritory of Rio de la Plata.

The army of Peru, was destined to experience further disasters, and was defeated by the royalists under general Tristan, who added the province of Salta to those then in the occupation of the royal troops.

The revolutiouary cause in Buenos Ayres, was now in a critical and dangerous situation; the government having no troops to re-enforce the army of Peru, to enable it to check the royalists, who were advancing victoriously towards the capital, and at the same time threatened by the Portuguese in an opposite quarter. Unappalled by the dangerous aspect of affairs, the government prepared to act with all the energy of which their situation would admit. Sarratea, one of the members of the government, marched at the head of four thousand men to oppose the Portuguese army; and general Belgrano, who commanded in Peru, was ordered to retire to Tucuman. The unexpected advance of the army against the Portuguese, occasioned alarm, and the minister Souza, dying about the same time, his successor, count de Las Galveas, proposed terms of peace, and an armistice was concluded in June, 1812, without limitation of time. The Portuguese troops withdrew from the territory of Buenos Ayres, and peace was concluded between the two governments, which mutually guaranteed each other's territories.

But external hostilities were not the only dangerous, nor perhaps the most alarming, with which the government of Buenos Ayres was threatened. A bold and daring conspiracy was formed against the government, for the purpose of arresting the revolution. All the members of the junta and all the partizans of the revolution were to be put to death. Don M. Alzaga, a Spaniard, and a rich merchant of Buenos Ayres, was at the head of the conspiracy, who with twenty more of the principal leaders, was tried, condemned and executed. The plot was discovered by means of the Portuguese ambassador, who was solicited to join in the conspiracy, but declined, and gave intimation to the government of their danger.

General Belgrano was pursued to Tucuman, by the royal general Tristan, and would have continued to retreat, had not

the inhabitants of Tucuman armed themselves and compelled him to keep his ground. He was attacked by the royalists under general Tristan, on the 24th of September, who suffered a most signal defeat, losing eleven hundred men, killed, wounded and prisoners. This victorious field was honoured with the appellation of *Campo del honor*. The royalists were compelled to retreat, after their defeat, which relieved the government and people from apprehension on the side of Peru.

On the 5th of April, 1812, an assembly was held at the capital, which elected Don J. M. Pueyrredon, a member of the government, at that time a very popular man; and at a meeting held on the 6th of October, Don M. Medrano was nominated a member. Both of these assemblies claimed to posses the sovereign power of the provinces of Rio de la Plata, and undertook to form a constitution; this was evidently exceeding their authority, and was opposed by the governing junta, and both assemblies were dissolved by military force. Two days after the dispersion of the last assembly, a general meeting of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres was held, which confided the government to Don N. Pena, J. J. Passo, and A. A. Jonte.

The captain general, Elio, having violated the treaty with Buenos Ayres, by hostilities committed by the Portuguese troops, the governing junta determined again to besiege Monte Video; and the foundry which had been established at the capital by Monasterio, who was director of the military school at Madrid in the reign of Charles the Fourth, supplied the requisite bombarding cannon. Don G. Vigodet, succeeded Elio in his command, and having received re-enforcements from Spain, he not only felt confident of defending Monte Video, but entertained hopes of crushing the junta at Buenos Ayres. Rondeau again commanded the troops sent against Monte Video, and on the 31st of December, Vigedet attacked him, but was defeated with loss. Re-enforcements were sent from Buenos Ayres under Sarratea, who assumed the chief command, but a misunderstanding soon arising between him and Artigas, and the officers supporting the latter, Sarratea was obliged to quit the army, and leave the command again to Rondeau.

Not discouraged by his defeat, Vigodet, availing himself of his naval superiority, embarked a body of troops and landed them at Parana on the coast of Buenos Ayres, in February, 1813, for the purpose of procuring provisions of which the besieged were in great want. The governing junta having

obtained information of this expedition, despatched Colonel San Martin, to oppose the royalists; and having come up with the enemy with his cavalry at San Lorenzo, on the river Parana, this gallant officer gave them battle without waiting for his infantry, and obtained for his country a most decisive victory, and for himself, the first fruits of the distinguished fame which he afterwards acquired.

Belgrano having received re-enforcements, attacked the royalists at Salta, on the 20th of February, and after a hard fought battle, victory declared for the patriots, and general Tristan and all his troops fell into the hands of the victors. But the advantages of this victory, were partially lost by an act of indiscreet generosity on one part, and base perfidy on the other. Belgrano and Tristan had been intimate friends, and the former confiding in the faith and honour of the latter, permitted him to withdraw with all his troops on taking an oath that neither himself nor any of his soldiers, would ever take arms again against Buenos Ayres. But so lightly did he regard his honour or his oath, that he immediately with all his men, joined the royalists under Goyeneche, who was preparing to take the field. The government disapproved of the generosity of Belgrano, but its consequences could not be prevented. The victory however restored to the patriots the provinces of Potosi, Charcas, Chayanta, and Cochabamba. On the 31st of January, a congress called the *Constituyente*, composed of deputies from the towns and cities of the provinces of Rio de la Plata, met in the capital. The sovereignty of the congress was acknowledged by each inhabitant. The style of the governing junta was changed to that of the supreme executive, and consisted of Pena, Perez, and Jonte. The congress adopted some liberal measures; that every future child of a slave, should be free, and that all slaves from any part of the world, who might come into Rio de la Plata, should immediately be emancipated. A plan was also formed for the gradual manumission of the slaves; all proprietors were to sell to government when required one third part of their slaves, the price of which was to be liquidated as a debt against the state. The government was to manumit the slaves purchased; but they were to be formed into battalions, their officers to be whites, and to be fed, clothed and paid by the government.

A new conspiracy was formed at Monte Video, against the popular government, instigated by Spaniards at Buenos Ayres; but it was discovered, and the conspirators arrested, tried, and four of them executed. In August, the term of

Jonte as a member of the executive, expired, and the congress filled the place by Don G. Pozadas. Jonte and Don J. Ugarteche, were appointed commissioners to visit the provinces and make the necessary political reforms and arrangements, conformable to the new order of things, and particularly as it respected the finances.

The armies of the hostile parties in Peru, the royalists under Pezuela the successor of Goyeneche, and the patriots commanded by Belgrano, met at Vilcapugio in the north of Potosi, where a very severe and long contested engagement took place; the advantage was on the side of the royalists, and Belgrano retreated to Ayuma in the north of Chuquisaca, and being hotly pursued, another action was fought near the close of November, in which the patriots were completely defeated, after fighting with such determined bravery and perseverance, as extorted a tribute of praise from the royalist general in his official despatch. This victory made the royalists masters of all Upper Peru, and also Tarija and Salta. These serious disasters placed the government at Buenos Ayres in a critical situation, and occasioned general alarm. A victorious army, without any troops to oppose it, threatened the country on the side of Peru, and the war on the east side of the river required additional forces. These threatening circumstances, which demanded the entire resources of the country, instead of calling into requisition those resources, served to impair both the energy of the government, and its means, as the public mind began to waver as to the issue of the contest; and when their country had most need of their services, many were thinking only of their own safety. Under the influence of this appalling aspect of affairs, the governing junta, proposed to concentrate the executive power in one magistrate, to give more energy and decision to the government; and on the 31st of December, the congress repealed the decree establishing a triplicate executive, and vested the powers of government in one chief magistrate, called the supreme director.—Don G. Pozadas was nominated director and an executive council, of seven members, was also appointed, for his advice and assistance.

At this gloomy period, an individual, whose name afterwards became illustrious, was brought into notice. This individual was San Martin, who was appointed to succeed Belgrano, the latter having been ordered to be tried for his late defeat. San Martin in the course of a few months, *created* a new army of three thousand five hundred men; besides which, he formed the guerrillas into different corps, which cut off the communica-

tions between the different divisions of royalists, and by constantly watching and harrassing foraging parties, deprived them of provisions. In consequence of these annoyances by the guerrillas, the Spanish general was obliged to abandon Salta, Tarija, and a part of the Alto Peru. In the mean time, Don Juan Larrea, secretary of finance, contrived and executed a plan for establishing a naval force superior to that of the enemy. Two brigs, three corvettes, and one schooner, were equipped, manned, and ready for sea, with troops on board.—Mr. Brown, an English merchant, at Buenos Ayres, was appointed to command this little flotilla, which having put to sea, engaged some ships of the enemy, in April, 1814, near the island of Martingarcia; and on the 25th of May, another engagement took place off Monte Video, and in sight of the town, of a more decisive character. Two of the enemy's corvettes were taken, two others destroyed by fire, and the rest escaped. This victory enabled Brown to blockade Monte Video. General Rondeau, in consequence of a difficulty with Artigas, had previous to this time, withdrawn his troops from the siege; and colonel Alvear, who brought a re-enforcement of troops from Buenos Ayres, was appointed his successor.—San Martin having demanded leave of absence, in consequence of the impaired state of his health, Rondeau supplied his place, as commander of the army of Peru. Soon after Alvear took command of the besieging army, the town not being able to hold out any longer, Vigodet proposed to capitulate, and the terms agreed on, were, that the garrison should be permitted to embark for Spain, and the troops of Buenos Ayres should enter Monte Video, and hold possession of it until the result of the deputation was known, which the congresss intended to send to Spain. There were 5,500 prisoners surrendered, 11,000 muskets, and an immense park of artillery and military stores. The government did not strictly comply with the terms of the capitulation, and for neglecting to do which, they assigned various reasons; but the principal one was, the right of retaliation for Tristan and Goyeneche's breaches of faith. Vigodet was permitted to embark for Spain, but the troops were distributed through the interior provinces of Rio de la Plata, except what could be induced to enlist into the popular service.

The difficulties between the government of Buenos Ayres and Artigas, commenced almost immediately after their united exertions had captured Monte Video, and reduced the Spanish power in the Banda Oriental. Artigas claimed that Monte Video ought to be given up to him, as chief of the Banda Ori-

ental ; this demand was resisted by the government of Buenos Ayres, and to check the designs of Artigas, a part of their troops were left in the country under the command of colonel Soler, who was appointed governor of Monte Video. To the contention with Artigas, was added mischievous dissentions among the patriots at Buenos Ayres. Availing himself of the ephemeral popularity, which the capture of Monte Video had given him, Alvear obtained the appointment of commander in chief of the army in Peru, and marched with a large re-enforcement to join the army ; but learning, before he arrived, that from the influence of Rondeau, the troops were opposed to him, he returned to Buenos Ayres. Here he solicited the place of supreme director, which he obtained in January, 1815, Pozadas resigning the post. These events occasioned deep animosities and general anarchy. The army of Peru refused to acknowledge Alvear. Some of the provinces declared for Rondeau, and others supported the director.—Communication between the capital and many of the provinces was obstructed, although the two factions did not commit actual hostilities. To complete the difficulties of the republic, their troops were defeated in the Banda Oriental, by Rivera, one of Artigas' generals, which compelled the director to order Soler to evacuate the country with the remnant of his troops. Artigas now entered Monte Video, and being in the undisputed possession of the Banda Oriental, he was a more formidable enemy to Buenos Ayres, than the royalists in that quarter had been. He determined to invade the territories of Buenos Ayres, and proceeded against Santa Fe, and took possession of the town. The director sent two thousand men to oppose Artigas, commanded by general Viana and colonel Alvarez ; but the latter declared against the director, arrested Viana, the commander in chief, and united with Artigas, for the purpose of overthrowing the director, Alvear. The army in Peru sent Jonte to insist on Alvear's renouncing the directorship; and being at last satisfied that he could not rule a people against their will, and who had lost all confidence in him, in consequence of his rash ambition, he reluctantly yielded to the general voice, and resigned his post. So indignant were the inhabitants against the director, that when Alvarez had joined Artigas, and was marching against Buenos Ayres, they collected in crowds, and denounced the director instead of the apostate officer. These occurrences occasioned a public meeting of the inhabitants, which declared the authority of Alvear, and also that of the congress, illegal and disannulled, and vested the government in the municipality of the city.—

The ex-director, Alvear, retired three miles from the city where the troops were encamped, of which he assumed the command; and it being reported that he meditated attacking the town, the inhabitants were thrown into alarm and confusion, and the municipality ordered every citizen under arms, and arrested the wife of Alvear, and several deputies, who were his partizans. An accommodation finally took place, and Alvear engaged to leave the country and embarked for England in a British frigate, commanded by captain Percy, who acted as mediator between the parties, and engaged to guarantee the performance of Alvear.

The municipality established a new junta, called *de observacion*, and promulgated a new provincial constitution. The junta possessed the legislative power, which had been exercised by the congress, and the office of director was retained and filled by Rondeau. But Rondeau, retaining his post at the head of the army, colonel Alvarez was appointed his substitute. The public papers were filled with invectives against the members of the late administration; more than twenty persons were arrested, and the government was occupied in preparing for their trial. Colonel Paillardel was condemned to death and executed, but the people of Buenos Ayres being much dissatisfied, the rest of the accused were exiled.

The destruction of the Spanish naval force, procured for Brown the rank of admiral, and in 1815, he proposed to the government to sail with his flotilla on a cruise into the Pacific ocean, for the annoyance of the Spanish commerce. The government approving of the proposal, and having made the necessary preparations, the expedition sailed at the end of the year. For some time it cruised with success, but the admiral's ship having grounded on the sands near the coast of Guayaquil, it was captured by the Spaniards. Brown, however, was exchanged for the newly appointed governor of Guayaquil, who had been captured on his way from Panama, a few days before, by one of Brown's cruisers. Whilst on this station, Brown greatly annoyed the Spanish commerce, and captured many vessels, some of which he sent to Buenos Ayres. On his return in the Hercules, with a rich booty on board. Brown was captured by the British ship of war, Brazen, and the Hercules carried into Antigua, where it was condemned, on pretence that it had violated the navigation laws.

Artigas still held possession of Santa Fe, and the new government of the United Provinces sent Viamont against him, with a body of troops, who attacked Artigas, but was himself

defeated and taken prisoner. To this disaster, succeeded one more serious. The royalist general Pezuela, having received re-enforcements from Spain, attacked the patriot army in Peru, and defeated it at Sipe-sipe, in November, 1815. This victory enabled the royalists the third time to occupy the provinces of Charcas, Potosi, and Tarija. Civil dissentions still continued to agitate the state. Alvarez, who exercised the supreme executive authority, in consequence of the absence of Rondeau, ordered the convocation of a new congress; but before it assembled, he was displaced from his command, by a popular revolution, and Balcarce appointed to succeed him; but he was, also, soon removed by the popular voice, and the government placed in the hands of a committee. Notwithstanding these commotions, the new congress assembled in Tucuman, and their first act was the appointment of a supreme director. Don J. M. Pueyredon, who was very popular and highly appreciated for his talents, patriotism, and ardent devotion to liberty, was elevated to the supreme executive authority; which gave great satisfaction to the inhabitants, tired and disgusted with repeated revolutions, and revived the hopes of the friends of liberty. Pueyredon commenced his administration with energy; he gave the command of the army of Peru to general Belgrano, and sent troops to re-enforce San Martin, who was defending the frontiers of the country bordering on Chile.

Greater tranquility and unanimity among the people now prevailed, and the government, having acquired stability, possessed the public confidence. Under these favourable auspices, the congress, on the 9th of July, 1816, in a short, yet solemn declaration, announced the independence of the United Provinces. At a subsequent period, a manifesto was published, assigning, at greater length, the reasons which moved them to a separation.

The boundary between the Portuguese possessions in America, and those of Spain, was, for a length of time, a subject of dispute; the government of Portugal had long meditated the extension of her territories to the Rio de la Plata; and since the emigration of the royal family to the Brazils, this object had acquired additional importance, and it was hoped that the distractions of the Spanish dominions, would afford a favourable opportunity of accomplishing it. It was this consideration which induced the Portuguese government so readily to send an army to Monte Video in 1811, at the solicitation of Elio. Alvear, Garcia, Herrera, and other disaffected persons, who, having been banished from Buenos Ayres, had retired to Monte Video, encouraged the Portuguese in

their designs of seizing on the country east of the Rio de la Plata. The government sent for troops to Lisbon, and an army was collected at Rio Grande of 10,000 men, with which the Portuguese general, Lecor, in December, 1816, invaded the Banda Oriental in two different directions. General Curado, with one division of the army, advanced in the road of Las Missiones, and the other division of the troops, took possession of forts San Carlos, and Maldonado; at the last of which, the general in chief fixed his head quarters.

Artigas, although at war with the government of Buenos Ayres, which claimed the country east of the river, determined to oppose the Portuguese. He obtained some advantages over the division under Curado; but was unable to check general Lecor, who marched to Monte Video, when the garrison evacuated the city, which the Portuguese general entered on the 20th of January, and retained possession of it. Artigas still occupied the provinces, and by his guerrillas continued to harrass the Portuguese, and cut off their supplies of provisions from the interior.

The threatened invasion of the Portuguese, induced Pueyredon, the director, to make an attempt at reconciliation with Artigas, and commissioners were appointed to treat with him. A treaty was finally concluded, wherein it was stipulated that the eastern part of the Banda Oriental, should acknowledge the authority of the government of Buenos Ayres; that it should send members to the congress, and that the government should immediately furnish troops for its defence. This event occasioned great joy with the inhabitants, on both sides of the river; which however was soon checked, by information that the Orientals refused to ratify the treaty, influenced, as is supposed, by Artigas. The executive of the United Provinces had remonstrated with the Portuguese general, Lecor, and warned him of the consequence of this unprovoked and unjustifiable invasion, but without any effect. His pretext was that the disorders and anarchy in the neighbouring provinces, rendered it necessary to occupy the country to prevent the contagion from spreading into Brazil.

In the mean time the war raged in Upper Perú, where Colonel M. A. Padilla, checked the progress of the bloody Facon. To oppose the successful career of Padilla, the enemy despatched one thousand men towards Laguana.—Padilla prepared to meet the assailants, and entrusted to his captains the defence of several posts, and one to the command of *his wife;* the enemy made a furious assault, but was completely repulsed and routed, and this heroic female deserving of Spar-

an renown, had the satisfaction of presenting to her husband, a standard of the enemy, taken with her own hands. Padilla pursued the fugitives in every direction, and what escaped were driven into the town of Chiquisaca, where they were shut up. This heroine was rewarded by the government for her services, by the commission and pay of a Lieutenant colonel.

Another victory was obtained over a body of Spaniards of one thousand men, under the command of Facon, in person, by the patriot officer Wanes, the royalists being almost entirely destroyed. In Salta and Juju, general Guemes with a formidable guerrilla force, and numerous other corps of guerrillas under different leaders constantly annoyed the royalists, deprived them of their conquests as fast as they were made, and finally compelled Pezuela to retreat.

Internal dissentions, and the voice of faction had not yet ceased to disturb the public councils. The removal of the congress from Tucuman to the capital was deemed expedient for the better management of the war; as it was convenient to have the different departments of the government near each other. This measure was opposed by most of the provinces, who desired to have the congress out of the reach of the influence of the capital.—After much discussion, a vote was obtained in congress to remove the capital, which gave rise to new commotions and disturbances. Don Francisco Borges, was the leader of the factions; and a body of vetteran troops being sent against them, they were routed and dispersed, and their leader Borges taken prisoner, who paid with his life the price of his factious temerity.

Disturbances also occurred in the province of Cordova; the governor Antonio Funes, brother of the historian of that name, although a man of great firmness and prudence, could not protect himself against intrigue and conspiracy. He was seized in his house by the conspirators, led by Bulnes, his son-in-law, and thrown into prison with Sayos, the military commandant. The insurgents not having sufficient confidence in Bulnes, appointed another person to be their leader; but the governour having obtained his liberty, collected a small force of militia, with which the conspirators were dispersed, and took refuge in Santa Fe, and their leader was taken prisoner, who, with several others was sent to Buenos ayres, where they were condemned and executed. Tranquillity was restored, and the governor re-established in his authority.

CHAPTER XII.

War between the Portuguese and Artigas—San Martin—his expedition into Chile—difficulties in passing the Andes—Victory of Chacabaco—San Martin returns to Buenos Ayres—Events in Upper Peru—Affairs in the Banda Oriental—events of the war in Chile—parties in Buenos Ayres—conspiracy—arrival of Spanish transport—revolt of Spanish prisoners—threatened expedition from Cadiz—constitution proclaimed—resignation of Pueyredon—negotiations with France—invasion by the Monteneros—they defeat Rondeau the director—Pueyredon's party overthrown—anarchy and civil war ensues—defeat of Alvear and Carrera—Rodriguez appointed governour of Buenos Ayres—Ramirez defeated—treaty with Spain—arrival of Mr. Rodney, minister from the United States—minister sent to Washington—meeting of congress—revolution in the Banda Oriental—conduct of the emperor of Brazil.

After the fall of Monte Video into the hands of the Portuguese, on the 20th of January, 1817, the right wing of the Portuguese army under Curado, marched against the Orientals, and at Arrayo de los Calalanos, they were attacked by general La Torre, who commanded 3000 men, in opposition to the advice of his officers. The action was obstinate and sanguinary; but terminated most disastrously to the patriots, who were defeated with very great loss. Artigas occupied a position in the rear of the army, with one hundred men, and before he was aware of this disastrous result, he was surrounded with four hundred men, and only escaped by the aid of an Indian, leaving all his baggage to the enemy.

In the meantime, Lecor found himself shut up in Monte Video, and all supplies being cut off, he was suffering for provisions and exposed to all the privations of a siege, which compelled him to march into the interior with 2,000 men, in pursuit of cattle. His movements were watched by Riverea, one of the Oriental chiefs, and he was surprised and attacked by this officer several times, and sustained considerable loss.

The calamities which now afflicted, and the more serious one which threatened the Banda Oriental, produced a univer-

al cry among the inhabitants, for a re-union with the confederacy; and even some of their chiefs were in favour of the measure, believing it the only means of saving the country from conquest and desolation. Under the influence of these sentiments a correspondence was opened with the director, who, to evince his desire of an accommodation, immediately sent some military supplies and arms by way of Colonia. Rivera consented to the union, subject to the provision, that it met the approbation of Artigas. This daring chief, influenced only by ambition and a determination to preserve his own power, used all his influence, and all the artifice he possessed to prevent the union. The party in favour of a union, however, was numerous, and several corps and detachments of the troops, elected Don Tames Garcia, their commander, and entered into articles of Union with the government of Buenos Ayres. Rivera, after a warm altercation with Garcia, sent to Artigas for a re-enforcement of five hundred men, to oppose him by force. Being decidedly opposed by general Forges, who expressed great horror at a measure calculated to enkindle again the flames of civil war, Artigas sent only fifty men to Colonia, under the pretext of defending that place from the Portuguese flotilla, but as is supposed, with the real design of uniting with Rivera, to make war on the party in favour of the union. Finally, the party of Artigas prevailed, and this favourable opportunity for an accommodation passed by without producing this desirable object.

Whilst disorders reigned in the east, which cast a shade over the political horizon, a more brilliant prospect was opening in the west. San Martin, then governour of Cuyo, had, for some time, conceived the bold and noble design of crossing the Andes, with a force sufficient for the emancipation of Chile, which was groaning under an exasperated tyranny, the Spaniards having re-established their authority over the country, and banished a large number of the most influential patriots to the island of Juan Fernandez. Chile had sent men and money to assist the United Provinces, when threatened by the Spanish general Elio, which required a return; but the constant annoyance of the United Provinces, by the royalists of Chile and Peru, rendered it an important object to the security of the republic, that the royal authority, in those countries, should be overthrown. The invasion of Chile, therefore, promised, not only the emancipation of that country, but security to the frontiers of the United Provinces, and to advance the general cause. But how was this to be effected? San Martin had no army, and the confederacy had no

means of raising or supporting one; its affairs had never been in a more deplorable condition, since the commencement of the war. The province of Cuyo was thinly peopled, and impoverished and devastated by the predatory incursons of the Spaniards. These discouraging circumstances, however, did not deter San Martin from his noble enterprize, but only served to bring, into requisition, the wonderful resources of his mind. Such was his influence over the people of Cuyo, and so completely had he engaged their affections and confidence, that they placed every thing they had at his disposal. They voluntarily furnished him with six hundred slaves, three hundred horses, ten thousand mules, and contributed, by money and personal exertions, to the construction of barracks, and providing arms, munitions and equipments. They furnished the means, also, of conducting troops from Buenos Ayres.

After one year spent in organizing and disciplining an army, composed of such materials, San Martin set out on his patriotic and daring enterprize. He had to cross the majestic Andes, with an army accompanied with baggage and artillery, which, for three hundred miles, presented rugged and almost inaccessible summits, and narrow defiles, admitting of two persons only abreast along the giddy verge of frightful precipices, where eternal frosts hold their undisputed reign. This passage, over the highest mountains in the world, with an army, is an achievment more daring and difficult than that of the renowned Hannibal, in crossing the Alps; and perhaps there is nothing, on the page of history, that surpasses it. But no obstacles could shake the purpose of San Martin; no difficulties were too great for his genius to overcome. In thirteen days, the frozen Andes were vanquished and passed, with the loss of five thousand horses and mules, and a few men. The liberating army encountered the enemy at Chacabaco soon after; and the veterans, who had conquered the Andes, experienced no difficulty in vanquishing the instruments of tyranny. Seldom has a victory been more complete, or a triumph more splendid. It annihilated the Spanish army, terminated the campaign, and gave liberty to Chile. The remnant of the royalists took refuge in *Talcahuano*. The inhabitants formed a junta at Santiago, and, as a reward for his services, ordered to San Martin the dictatorship of Chile, which he declined, and this power was vested in Bernando O'Higgins.

After this splendid victory, *the general of the Andes*, as San Martin was now called, returned to Buenos Ayres to concert a plan with the government to direct the victorious arms of the

republic towards Peru. As he approached Mendoza, the capital of Cuyo, the whole inhabitants of the town flocked out to meet him; the youth strewed the road with roses, and all demonstrated the most lively sensations of admiration and joy on beholding the hero of the Andes, and the liberator of Chile. At Buenos Ayres, the same sentiments prevailed, and preparations were making to receive him with every mark of respect and honour; but being apprized of what was intended, he stole into the city, unobserved, to the no small disappointment of the people.

General Belgrano, who had been appointed, by Pueyredon, to the command of the army in Upper Peru, by his talents and exertions, had retrieved the disasters of the republic in that quarter. The Spanish general Pezuela, was succeeded in the command by general Serna, a less skilful commander than his predecessor. After the death of Padilla and Merceces, the bloody Facon was successfully opposed by Wanes, Ganderilla, and Fernandez, who pressed him very hard; but he was destined to fall a victim to a higher power; a stroke of lightning from heaven put an end to his days and his cruelties. General Serna, haughty and presumptuous, resolved to recover the provinces which his predecessor had been obliged to abandon. At the head of 2000 men, he pushed forwards into Juju; but was so closely pursued and harrassed by Guemes with his formidable guerrilla, that he soon had occasion to repent of his temerity. After several engagements, in which he sustained considerable loss, as well as from the continual annoyance of several guerrilla corps, Serna was compelled to retreat with the remains of his army, and abandon his designs of conquest.

The state of affairs in the Banda Oriental remained essentially the same; Erenu and Samanuego, the chiefs in the province of Entre Rios, made some concessions, and manifested a disposition for an accommodation with the United Provinces; but Artigas sent an abusive letter to the director, accusing him of secretly favouring the Portuguese, of having connived at the supplies which had been furnished them, aud threatening to attack him even in the capital. To secure Santa Fe, which commands the interior of the province of Buenos Ayres, and at the same time to furnish relief to the people of Entre Rios, the director sent a body of troops under Montes de Oca, which were furiously attacked and defeated by a detachment ordered against them by Artigas; and a re-enforcement sent under colonel Balcarce, was attacked with still greater desperation, and shared the same fate.

These disasters were soon followed by intelligence still more disagreeable from Chile. Whilst San martin and O'Higgins were exerting all their means to reduce the fortress of Talcahuano, the last strong hold of the royalists, the viceroy of Lima succeeded in throwing fifteen hundred men into that fortress, which, as to strength, will almost compare with Gibraltar. San Martin, however, instead of being discouraged by this untoward event, was re-enforcing his army, and preparing for a grand expedition to Peru, intending to strike the same blow there, which he had with such important results in Chile. Alarmed at this threatened invasion, the viceroy resolved to decide the fate of Peru in Chile, and accordingly after great preparation, hastily embarked an army of nearly five thousand men, under Osorio, for Talcahuano. Almost immediately after the landing of his troops, Osorio, confident of victory, and despising the army, and the general whose valour he had not yet tried, commenced his march for the capital of Chile. Being re-enforced by the garrison of the fortress, and the royalists in the country, his army amounted to 8,000 men. He marched rapidly through the province of Conception, and advanced as far as Talca. Previous to this, the divisions of San Martin's army had united and kept up contiual skirmishing with the royalists, and on the 19th of March, the van of the Spanish army was attacked and driven back into the streets of Talca. Osorio now became alarmed for his safety, and resolved to attack the patriots in the night in their encampment. The attack was made in the most unexpected and furious manner; and the independants were surprised, thrown into confusion, and completely routed. San Martin, with the remains of his army, retired to the pass of Angulemu, on the route to the Santiago, and in a few days marched towards the capital, where, in a short time, by his own incredible exertions, and the patriotism of the inhabitants, it was re-enforced, re-organised, and prepared to dispute the dominion of Chile and of Peru, on the plains of Maypu. Here on the 5th of April, 1818, was fought one of the most sanguinary actions which the records of the revolution in South America afford, the result of which was equally decisive and glorious. It annihilated the Spanish army, secured to San Martin an imperishable renown, and established the independence and liberty of Chile and Peru. San Martin was universally greeted as the saviour of the country, and the hero of the revolution. Soon after this, he returned to Buenos Ayres, where he was received with the honour due to his private worth and important public services.

At this period many privateers were fitted out at Buenos Ayres, or sailed under commissions of the government of the United Provinces; some were fitted out in the United States, in violation of our laws, and others in England, which obtained commissions from that government; many also sailed with commissions from Artigas. These privateers scoured the ocean, and destroyed what remained of the Spanish commerce, and some of them committed outrages on neutral vessels.

The war on the other side of the river still continued between the Orientals and the Portuguese; but the government at Buenos Ayres took no part against the Portuguese, and Pueyredon was even accused of secretly assisting them. On the first of May, 1818, the Portuguese got possession of Colonia, either by force or treachery, and stationed there a garrison of one thousand men. About the same time the Portuguese general Curado, with a force of 3,500 men, took Purification and Pysander, and a body of cavalry, crossed the river Uruguay, and ravaged the country. Purification was afterwards abandoned, and the troops took a station between the Uruguay and Pysander. Their vessels went up the river to cooperate with their troops, without any efforts being made by the government of Buenos Ayres to prevent it.

A strong party existed in the United Provinces, opposed to the administration, which was charged with secretly favouring the designs of the Portuguese against the Banda Oriental; but the principal ground of complaint against the administration, was an alleged opposition on the part of the director and his party to the rights of the provinces, who complained of the controling influence of Buenos Ayres. The opposition were in favour of what was called *federalism*, or a different system of government, which should give to all the provinces an equal participation therein. The violence of the opposition led to a conspiracy against the administration, which was discovered in August, 1818. The plan was to sieze and carry off the director; but the plot was discovered, and the leader arrested, who accused three distinguished citizens as being the authors of the conspiracy, who were arrested, tried, and acquitted. This conspiracy, and the measures adopted to suppress it, increased the agitation of the public mind, and the director issued a proclamation to quiet the alarm, and preserve tranquility

In the month of February this year, (1818,) the commissioners of the United States, Messrs. Rodney, Bland, and Graham, who sailed from our shores the preceding December, arrived at Buenos Ayres, and were the first public functiona-

ries received by the republic from any foreign power. They were sent, by the president, as special agents to obtain information as to the state of the country, and the condition of the new government. They were received by the public authorities at Buenos Ayres with much respect, and obtained extensive information respecting the country and the war, which the following year was laid before congress, contained in the reports of the commissioners and the accompanying documents.

In the month of August, a Spanish transport, which had sailed from Cadiz with two hundred troops for Lima, arrived at Buenos Ayres. The troops mutinied, killed such of their officers as would not join them, and compelled the captain and crew to conduct the vessel to Buenos Ayres, where they took the oath of allegiance to the independent government, and joined the forces of the republic. On the 12th of December, the congress passed a decree, recognizing the independence of Chile. Most of the troops of the government being in Chile, under San Martin, or on the frontiers of Upper Peru, the monteneros, or hordes of Indians, disturbed the public tranquility, and cut off all communication with the interior.

Early in the year 1819, the Spanish prisoners at San Luis revolted, and seven of them, headed by a general officer, attacked the governor in his own house; but, undaunted by their number, he defended himself, killed one, and compelled the rest to retreat. Twenty-seven of the conspirators were arrested, condemned, and shot—including one brigadier-general, two colonels, and several other officers.

The expedition, which had long been preparing at Cadiz, occasioned considerable excitement, and attracted the principal attention of the government, which made all the preparation its situation would admit of, to meet any force that might invade the country.

The congress of the confederacy assembled on the 25th of February, and the session was opened by a message from the supreme director, who speaks of the dissentions which prevailed, and of the conspiracies against the government. He says, that "the frequency of disorders, and the repeated instances in which he had been under the painful necessity of punishing the authors of disturbances, and the enemies of the republic, had rendered him obnoxious to the malice and vengeance of many individuals who might be useful to the country," and says he would resign, did he not think it would have an unfavourable influence, at home and abroad, under present circumstances. He urges the speedy adoption of a constitution as the most effectual means of pacifying the dis

affected, and restoring the public tranquility. "The threatened expedition from Spain," he remarks, "requires preparations for defence commensurate to the danger;" and recommends that the provinces assume a warlike attitude, and be put in the most complete state of defence; and intimates, that "this will require a head, possessing more military experience and capacity, than he can claim."

Whilst engaged in providing for the defence of the country, congress were, also, deliberating on a constitution for the state, and one having been prepared, on the 25th of May, it was publicly proclaimed. It was formed on the federal basis, and its principles did not vary, essentially, from the constitution of the United States. It presented the great features of liberty; the legislative power was vested in two chambers, one consisting of deputies chosen by the people for four years, the other, of senators elected by the provinces or states; the executive authority was vested in one person, called a director; it declared the equality of the citizens, the freedom of the press, the inviolability of persons, their dwellings, &c.

Shortly after this event, Pueyredon, in consequence of ill health, as he alleged, but perhaps from the disaffection to his administration, and the apprehension of a gathering storm, resigned the directorship, and Joseph Rondeau succeeded him *ad interim*, until a new director could be chosen according to the forms of the constitution. Great exertions continued to be made, to prepare to defend the country against the long threatened expedition from Cadiz, until all apprehensions, from that quarter, were put at rest by the revolution in Spain, which defeated the expedition. No important operations of the armies of the United Provinces, in Upper Peru and Chile, occurred this year; but the war, on the east side of the river, was kept up by the indefatigable Artigas, who, with astonishing perseverance and ability, maintained the unequal contest with the Portuguese, without any assistance from the government of Buenos Ayres, and whilst often at open war with it.

The revolution in South America, early attracted the attention of the great powers of Europe, forming the "holy alliance;" and from the period it became evident that Spain could not re-establish her authority over her American colonies, there is the strongest reason for believing that the allied powers seriously meditated such an interference as should dispose of the destinies of those countries comprising what was Spanish America. The primary object of the allied powers, the proscription of all revolutions and political reforms originating from *the people*, and their determination to oppose the

establishment of free institutions, could leave no doubt of the concern and hostility with which they viewed the development of events in Spanish America, and the probable establishment of several independent, free states, resting on institutions emanating from the will and the valour of the people. But there is more specific evidence of their hostile intentions.—Don Jose Vaventine Gomez, envoy from the government of Buenos Ayres at Paris, in a note to the secretary of his government of the 20th of April, 1819, says, that "the diminution of republican governments was a basis of the plans adopted by the holy alliance for the preservation of their thrones; and that, in consequence, the republics of Holland, Venice, and Genoa, received their death blow at Vienna, at the very time that the world was amused by the solemn declaration, that all the states of Europe would be restored to the same situation they were in before the French revolution. I also expressed the belief, that the sovereigns assembled at Aix la Chapelle, had agreed, secretly, *to draw the Americans to join them* in this policy, when Spain should be undeceived, and have renounced the project of re-conquering her provinces; and that the king of Portugal warmly promoted this plan *through his ministers.*"

The great obstacle to the interference of the allied powers, was Great Britain, whose commercial policy, in this instance, was opposed to the political designs of the alliance, and to her own political views. Her commercial interests were the strongest, and she could not be persuaded to favour the designs of the other allied powers against the independence and liberty of Spanish America. The condition of the United States, and the attitude assumed by the government, (the president having declared, subsequently, that the interference of any foreign power against the independence of the states of South America, would be viewed as endangering the security of the United States,) were not without their influence on the designs of those powers.

But, if the obstacles which Great Britain and the United States interposed, prevented their attempting to dispose of the countries of South America by force, as they had of Naples and Spain, they were in hopes to control their destinies by the arts of diplomacy and disguised friendship. Taking advantage of the threatened invasion from Spain, and the alarms which it excited at Buenos Ayres, the French cabinet attempted, by intrigue and artifice, to establish, in the United Provinces, a monarchy under a European prince related to the house of Bourbon. Rondeau, the director, was by birth a Frenchman, a circumstance which favoured this bold intrigue.

The French minister for foreign affairs, in a conference with Gomez, the envoy of the United Provinces, after expressing the ardent wish of the ministry for the success of the glorious cause in which the United Provinces were engaged, and regretting the obstacles which prevented France from affording them assistance, said, that "on reflecting on their true interests, he was convinced that these entirely depended on the choice of a government, under whose influence they might enjoy the advantages of peace; and that he firmly believed that this form of government could only be a constitutional monarchy, with a prince of Europe at its head; whose relations might command and increase a respect for the state, and facilitate the acknowledgment of their national independence."

This measure he thought alone would ensure tranquillity to the provinces, conciliate the powers of Europe, and even lead to peace and a recognition of the independence of the country on the part of Spain itself. He recommended the Duke of Lucca, late heir of the kingdom of Etruria and a Bourbon by his mother's side, as a suitable prince; and said that the Emperors of Russia and Austria were very friendly to him, and that England could find neither reason or pretext to oppose his elevation. It was proposed that France, would furnish the necessary land and naval forces to render the new king respectable, and secure the independence of the country; that the duke should marry a princess of Brazil, on condition of a cession from the government of Brazil of the country east of the La Plata to the United Provinces, and that France would use her influence with the king of Spain to induce him to acknowledge the independence of the country.

Gomez informed the secretary, that he had no authority to negotiate on this delicate and important subject; but that he would communicate what he had expressed to him, to his government, which he did by a note dated the 19th of June, 1819. The same intrigue was undertaken with the government of Chile through its deputy, Don Jose Yrizarri. The despatches from Gomez were received in October, 1819, and on the 26th of that month, Rondeau, the director, communicated them to congress, without expressing any opinion, but urging a speedy division.

After long deliberation, at a secret session on the 12th of November, strange as it may seem, the congress approved of the project of France, subject to nine conditions; the principal of which were, that his most christian majesty, the king of France, should obtain the assent of the five great powers of Europe, including England and Spain; that he should facili-

tate the marriage of the duke of Lucca with a princess of Brazil, and procure a cession of the provinces east of the La Plata; that France should afford to the duke all the assistance necessary to defend and consolidate the monarchy, and to comprise within it, all the east side, including Monte Video and Paraguay, and that France should furnish troops, ships, and four millions of dollars by way of loan, to put the country in a condition to defend itself against Spain and secure its independence.

The design and result of this scheme, had it succeeded, cannot occasion a moment's doubt. It was intended to prostrate the republic, and to have established a monarchy on its ruins, under the protection, and consequently, entirely under the control of France.

If this daring scheme against the independence and liberties of Spanish America, had succeeded, the example would have been laid hold of, to favour similar attempts, by other European powers, against the other governments in Spanish America. Fortunately for the interests of South America, and the cause of liberty, there was too much virtue and intelligence in the people, in the midst of all their dissentions, to permit so degrading and pernicious a scheme to be carried into effect. And those who had favoured it, were soon treated with the indignation and contempt which their conduct deserved.

In the month of November, the territory of Buenos Ayres was invaded, by the Monteneros, headed by one of Artigas' officers, and J. M. Carrera, a distinguished Chilese, well known in the United States, for his inveterate opposition to the administration of Pueyredon in the United Provinces, and that of O'Higgins in Chile. The director, Rondeau, placed himself at the head of the troops which could be collected, and proceeded against the Monteneros; and the beginning of February, 1820, he was defeated by these formidable guerrillas, commanded by Ramirez, formerly an officer under Artigas, and a plain guacho, but shrewd, brave, and violent. Previous to this disaster, near the close of the last year, another conspiracy had been discovered in the capital, against the administration, and many persons were seized and banished from the city. The dissentions and disorders that existed, were much increased by the defeat of Rondeau, which produced the greatest alarm at Buenos Ayres, and occasioned general confusion and anarchy. The opponents of the administration were now emboldened to act more openly and decidedly, and the authority of the government was entirely prostrated.—

Buenos Ayres, which was the cradle of the revolution in this part of Spanish America, which had displayed distinguished patriotism, and made immense sacrifices for the independence of the country, and the cause of liberty, was now threatened with invasion, without any army for its defence, without a government; and what was worse, had become a theatre of faction, civil war, and intrigue.

Ramirez was at the head of 3000 men, within seventy miles of the city; the congress and director proposed to treat with him, and appointed commissioners, but he refused, declaring that he would not negotiate, until a new set of rulers were appointed, who should be free from the influence of Pueyredon.

The Pueyredon party, which had long maintained the ascendancy, although with a powerful and violent opposition, could no longer sustain [redacted] authority. They were accused of having brought on the country, all the evils which afflicted it; of having occasioned the dissentions which distracted the state, by their mal-administration and violent measures; of promoting the disgraceful intrigue with France, of preventing an accommodation with Artigas, and of having secretly aided the Portuguese, to crush his power, and in their encroachments on the Banda Oriental, and of entirely neglecting to prosecute the war against the royalists in Upper Peru. Whatever truth there may be in these charges, it is evident that a conjuncture had arrived, which rendered the fall of this party inevitable. To avoid the storm, Pueyredon and his friends fled to the Portuguese for safety, carrying off as was said at the time, a large sum of the public treasure, but the truth of this was never established, and the charge was probably wholly unfounded.

When Rondeau left the city, to command the army, the congress on the first of February, named Don Juan Pedro Aquirre, to fill the office of director, during the absence of the incumbent; and on the 5th of the month, Rondeau returned after his defeat, and resumed the directorship; but on the 8th, a revolution took place which overthrew the administration and dissolved the congress A provisional junta was established by the cabildo of the city, which assumed the government. Manuel de Sarratea was appointed governour of the city. He opened a negotiation with the enemy, and on the 20th of February, concluded a treaty with Ramirez, when Carrera and the adherents of what was called the federal party, entered the city. Tranquillity however was not restored; for early in March, a counter revolution was effected, headed by general Balcarce, and Carrera, and the leaders of the fed-

eral party, were obliged to flee to the army. Balcarce was invested with the powers of dictator until a government could be provided; but on the 12th of March, the troops on which he relied, deserted him, when he immediately made his escape. The same day Sarratea, who had been obliged to leave the city, returned and resumed his authority, amidst the acclamations of the people.

The officers of the two late administrations, were arrested, and many of the adherents of Pueyredon. This revolution led to a discovery of the disgraceful negotiation with France, for *importing* a king, and placing the country under the protection of that monarchy, and all the members of the congress who voted in favour of this measure, with the exception of three, who accompanied their signatures with a protest, were arrested.

The most dreadful factions, anarchy and civil war, followed these events, and continued to distract the country, for several months. Many valuable citizens fell victims to these disorders. The severity of the storm fell on Buenos Ayres, although it was felt throughout the provinces. Numerous governours of the city, rapidly succeeded each other, and such was the state of alarm, turbulence and faction, that there was no surety of persons or property. Ramirez, Carrera and Lopez, were not pacified, but kept the field at the head of formidable parties of Monteneros, cutting off all communication with the interior, and threatening the capital. Alvear and forty or fifty officers, who had formerly been in the service of Buenos Ayres, had joined Carrera and the other chiefs of the Monteneros. On the 10th of July, Martin Rodriguez, who had been appointed to the command of the troops of Buenos Ayres, amounting to nearly 3,000 men, had an engagement with Alvear and his confederates and obtained some advantage; he, however, still continued to threaten an attack on the city, which was kept in a continual state of alarm, so that no business could be transacted. Alvear continued to menace the city during the early part of the month of August, threatening vengeance against his enemies. He some years before had been a director, and was banished.

For the restoration of tranquillity, or at least for the discomfiture of the enemies of the country, it seems to be indebted principally to Rodriguez, and general Dorego, governour of Santa Fe. Dorego, the latter part of August, completely routed the forces of Alvear, and Carrera, and made prisoners of Alvear, and a number of officers, formerly in the Buenos Ayrean service, and three or four hundred men. Carrera

had several hundred troops, from Chile, and the rest of his force consisted of the Monteneros, and the malcontents of the United Provinces. Carrera escaped with some followers; his fate however was not long deferred.

This victory promoted the public tranquility, and prepared the way for a better order of things. A junta, which was chosen from the city and country, on the 26th of September, 1820, appointed Rodriguez governor of Buenos Ayres. The turbulence of dissention, however, had not yet subsided, for, on the 1st of October, Rodriguez was driven from the capital by a desperate faction; but on the 5th he routed and dispersed them, resumed his authority, and partially restored tranquillity to a distracted city, so long the prey of factions, and civil war.

The power of Artigas, which had experienced so many vicissitudes, was completely prostrated about this period; being defeated by the Portuguese, with the loss of nearly all his army. Ramirez, the chief of Entre Rios, who had formerly acknowledged the supremacy of Artigas, turned his arms against him, and compelled him to take refuge in Paraguay. Rodriguez maintained his authority, preserved the public tranquillity of the capital, repelled the predatory incursions of the Indians, and defeated the machinations and hostility of the desperate malcontents. Great disorders, however, still existed in the provinces, of which Carrera was regarded as being the principal author; he continued his predatory incursions, and often committed dreadful outrages on the inhabitants in remote settlements. He seemed to have become a desperate and infatuated man, and to be bent on destroying every thing within his power, which finally brought destruction on his own head. Ramirez also continued his hostility to the government of Buenos Ayres, and even threatened the capital; he had the command of the forces of the Banda Oriental, formerly governed by Artigas.

The government exerted itself to oppose him, and fitted out a flotilla, for which purpose it pressed some of the seamen of the United States to complete the crew; and an army, composed of the troops of Buenos Ayres and Santa Fe, marched against Ramirez, commanded by Rodriguez himself, which in July, 1821, defeated him with great loss. His troops were completely routed and dispersed, and he escaped himself, with two hundred of his followers, and joined Carrera. Not long afterwards, the forces of Ramirez and Carrera, were defeated by an army from the province of Mendoza. Their rallying

word was 'victory and extermination.' Carrera and a few officers only, escaped; Ramirez was killed at Rio Seca, situated between Santiago del Estero and Santa Fe. Carrera was soon after taken and shot, on the same spot where one of his brothers died. Tranquillity was now in a great measure restored to the United Provinces, after a long period of anarchy, violence, and civil war. Previous to this period, deputies to a general congress had been chosen, to be held at Cordova, but the disturbed condition of the country had prevented their assembling.

On the 14th of September, 1821, J. M. Forbes, agent of the United States, at Buenos Ayres, remonstrated to the government against the piracies and atrocities committed on the ocean, under cover of the flag of Buenos Ayres; which occasioned a decree, ordering all persons possessing letters of marque and reprisal, to return them to the government within a specified time, and that in future no letter of marque and reprisal would be granted without first publishing the cause that obliged the government to have recourse to that measure.

The commencement of the year 1822, found the affairs of the United Provinces in a more prosperous condition; the internal enemies of the republic had been destroyed or driven out of the country; the voice of faction was silenced; the government had acquired energy and respect, and was engaged in works of improvement, in forming schools, and establishing libraries, calculated to prepare the people for the appreciation and enjoyment of liberty. The papers discussed freely, and often ably, important political questions connected with their new situation. A splendid edifice was erected for a congressional hall, on the same spot, where, in 1780, was reared the dungeons of Oruru, in which were immured those accused of promoting the independence of Peru. Peace was also restored with the province of Entre Rios, a convention having been concluded between that and the provinces of Buenos Ayres and Santa Fe, on the 14th of January, whereby the parties stipulated to be at peace, and make common cause against external and internal enemies, and mutually to defend and assist each other. The Portuguese or Brazilians maintained possession of the city of Monte Video, and the province of Banda Oriental.

The public mind became more and more tranquillized, and the government acquired energy and the confidence of the people. The disaffected however, were not entirely removed or conciliated. as a conspiracy was discovered at the capital, on the 23d of August, said to be headed by Tagle, secretary

of state, during Pueyredon's administration; and a number of persons were arrested. It did not, however, occasion any commotion, and the public tranquillity continued undisturbed during the remainder of the year.

On the 4th of July, 1823, a convention, or a preliminary treaty of peace, was concluded between the United Provinces and Spain, by the commissioners appointed by the Spanish government, under the direction of the Cortes and Rivadavia, secretary of state for Buenos Ayres. It was stipulated that hostilities should cease for eighteen months, that the relations of commerce should be renewed between the two countries, and that within the time the two governments should negotiate a definite treaty of peace and friendship The congress authorized the executive to ratify the convention, and resolved that on its being ratified by Spain, and a definitive treaty of peace concluded, twenty millions of dollars should be voted to Spain, to maintain her independence on the representative system, provided she should be invaded by France, that sum being the amount which the chambers of Paris had granted the king for the prosecution of hostilities in Spain. Notwithstanding this liberal conduct of the congress, the convention was rejected by the Spanish government.

On the 16th of November, 1823, Cæsar A. Rodney, minister from the United States, arrived at Buenos Ayres, and in a few days presented his credentials. He being the first envoy ever received from any foreign power, it was deemed important by the government, that his recognition should be public in the hall of the government house, attended with a solemnity and splendour of ceremonies corresponding with the importance of the occasion. But the state of Mr. Rodney's health would not admit of this, at that time. On the 27th of December, his health having been restored, the ceremony of presentation took place. He was conveyed to the government house, by the minister of foreign relations, in a coach of state, attended with military display and every mark of honour, and conducted by a deputation of the government into the hall, through an immense concourse of citizens, where he was presented to the governour, by the minister of foreign relations. Mr. Rodney delivered an address in his own language, which was interpreted; and having concluded, he presented his credentials. Rodriguez, who was deeply affected, made a suitable reply.

But the interesting relations thus established between the government of the United Provinces, and the first minister from any foreign power, was destined to be of short

continuance. Mr. Rodney's health was not re-established, and he continued to languish until the 10th of June, 1824, when he expired. The government passed a decree expressing their grief at the event, directing his burial with public funeral honours, and providing for the erection of a monument.

During the year 1824, the political and internal affairs of the United Provinces continued tranquil and prosperous, and the government being relieved from the horrors of anarchy, and in a great measure, from the evils of war, was engaged in consolidating the republic, and in improving its condition. It is an evidence of the stability of the public mind, that an election of a new chief magistrate took place in a peaceable manner, and without occasioning any disturbance, which is the first instance in which there had been a change in the executive without a revolution, or the employment of military force. Attempts were made for a re-union of all the provinces of Rio de la Plata, and the establishment of a general congress; and a more favourable disposition, both in the capital and in the provinces, was manifested for this desirable object.

In October, 1824, general Alvear arrived in the United States, from the United Provinces, as resident minister near our government; and on the 11th of the month, he was presented to the President, by the secretary of state. In his address on the occasion, he says that he was charged in the name of all the provinces of Rio de la Plata, to express to the government of the United States, the regard, friendship, and gratitude they entertain for the magnanimous expression with which they had been honoured in the solemn recognition of their independence. He adds, that the letters which he has to present to the president, will unfold more fully the solicitude and sincere desire which his government feels for an intimate union.

The envoy of the United Provinces, however, scarcely entered on the duties of his office, as he left Washington the following month, to return to his country, the government having appointed him to the chief command of the army destined against the royalists in Upper Peru, where the Spaniards still maintained their authority over some of the provinces: as the government of Buenos Ayres, in consequence of the dissentions and civil wars which had prevailed, for several years, had made but little effort in prosecuting the war against the Spaniards of Peru.

The congress of the United Provinces, convened in December, 1824, at Buenos Ayres, and on the 15th of the month,

the executive delivered a message, which unfolds the present condition of the republic.

He speaks of the efforts which he had made to secure the friendship of the American states engaged in the same cause, and says, he has appointed ministers to Colombia, and also to Peru.

"The empire of Brazil," he says, "forms a contrast to the noble republic of the United States, and a deplorable exception to the general policy of the American nations." He complains of the base and low artifices by which the province of Monte Video has been separated from the union, and retained in subjection by force of arms. Every effort, he adds, has been made with the court of Rio Janeiro, to induce it to abandon its usurpations and listen to the dictates of reason and justice, which might prevent the terrible necessity of war, but without success. The executive, however, does not despair of effecting an accommodation; he speaks in high terms of the conduct of Great Britain, and says, that the principles she has adopted towards the American nations, must soon result in a recognition of their independence.

The Brazilians still had possession of the province of Monte Video, or the Banda Oriental on the east side of the river; but in April, 1825, a revolution took place in the Banda Oriental, which liberated it from the authority of Brazil. Lavalleja, Oribe, and several other officers and inhabitants of the Banda Oriental, on the 27th of April, left Buenos Ayres, and crossed to the opposite side of the river, where they expected to have found two hundred men assembled, who had collected, accordingly, but had taken fright and dispersed.—Having discovered that about forty of the Brazilian troops, and thirty of the inhabitants, who had been pressed into their service, were at Arenal Grande, Lavalleja and his party appeared before them, and they joined and followed him. Being also joined by a number of the inhabitants, he entered Soriano, and, re-organizing the government of the place, marched to the Gallinas, where he destroyed about two hundred Brazilian troops, who guarded it. Here Lavalleja found plenty of horses and provisions, and was joined by the militia in the neighbourhood, and even by many of the Brazilians. Re-passing the Negro, he marched towards the Perdido, and by stratagem, got possession of the person of Fructus Rivero, the Brazilian military commander of the country, and his escort, all of whom, except the officers, joined the party of Lavalleja. Rivero, himself, afterwards joined the revolutionary cause, and publicly burnt his imperial uniform in the streets of Santa

Lucia. He also summoned the commander of Monte Video to surrender that place. More recent intelligence represents that the revolution has extended throughout the province, the whole population being engaged in it; that a provisional government had been established, which had sent deputies to the general congress of the united provinces, soliciting their assistance and co-operation in expelling the Brazilians from Monte Video. By this revolution, the Brazilians have been driven from the provinces on the east side of the river, except the city and part of the province of Monte Video. In pursuance of the solicitation of deputies sent to the government of Buenos Ayres, the congress passed a resolution, authorizing the executive to guard the territory of the United Provinces, from the dangers which might arise in the present state of the Banda Oriental, and to re-enforce the line of the Uruguay.

In April last, a division of Brazilian troops took possession of the province of Chiquitos, in Upper Peru, and asserted that the same was incorporated by the unanimous wish of the people, with the empire of Brazil. The governour of the province surrendered it by capitulation. This proceeding excited the greatest indignation at Buenos Ayres, and being a fresh encroachment and aggression, must increase the difficulties between the government of the United Provinces and that of Brazil. Bolivar had previously undertaken to liberate Upper Peru, and had an army there under general Sucre, so that this rash invasion of the country brings Brazil into hostility with him. Buenos Ayres has, also, troops in that quarter. The encroachments of the emperor of Brazil, and his intermeddling and hostile conduct, will be likely to involve him in war, not only with the United Provinces, but also with Peru and Colombia, which may make common cause in teaching him to feel the consequences of his usurpations, encroachments, and unwarrantable interference in the concerns of his neighbours. Should these states make war upon Brazil, in all probability it would produce a revolution in that country, which would result in the overthrow of the imperial government, and the establishment of a republic. This would render the family of American nations complete, and must, sooner or later, take place, as America is not destined for the abode of kings or for kingly governments.

HISTORY

AND PRESENT STATE OF

CHILE.

CHAPTER XIII.

Extent and boundaries—the Andes; summits and passes of—maritime border, bays and harbours—rivers—face of the country—soil—climate and productions—desert of Atacama—mines—copper mines of Coquimbo—districts—islands—Santiago—Valparaiso—government—population—army—navy—commerce—exports.

The republic of Chile comprises the tract of country that extends from the summit of the Andes, westward to the Pacific, and along the coast of the Pacific from the desert of Atacama, in latitude 25° south, to the straits of Magellan, in latitude 54° south, according to some authorities; but according to Pazos' map, it extends no further south than the gulf of Guaytecas, in latitude 42°. Its length, according to the first description, would be about 2,000 miles: according to the last, less than 1,200; its average breadth is estimated at about 140 miles. Its northern boundary is the desert of Atacama; its eastern, the Andes; its southern, the Patagonian territory, or the straits of Magellan, and its western, the Pacific.

The lofty summits of the Andes, which traverse the entire continent of South America, skirt the whole eastern border of Chile, and form its eastern boundary. The highest summits in this range are Manflos, in latitude 28° 45′, the Tupungato, in lat. 33° 24′; the Deseabezado, in lat. 35°; the Blanguillo, in 35° 4′; the Langavi, in 35° 24′; the Chillan, in 36°, and the Coccabado, in 43°; some of these are more than 2,000 feet above the level of the ocean. There are fourteen

volcanoes, which are in a constant state of eruption, and a greater number that discharge smoke only at intervals. The two principal passes of the Andes lie between the united provinces of La Plata and Chile, those of Putamda and Patos; the first leads from the city of Mendoza, and is about 200 miles in length; the latter leads from the city of San Juan, and is longer. To the north, the Andes are broader, but to the south they are said to subside into such gentle slopes, that a good carriage road might be made across the country which is unsettled.

Waters.—Like Peru, Chile has an extensive maritime border on the Pacific, and is much better accommodated with bays and harbours, which are numerous along the whole coast. The most considerable is the great gulf of Guaytecas, in which is situated the Archipelago of Chiloe. Few countries are so well supplied with rivers as Chile. Lying at the foot of the Andes, it naturally receives the waters produced by the melting of that immense body of snow, which annually falls upon those mountains. There are more than one hundred rivers of considerable size, which run westward, of which fifty-two fall directly into the ocean. The principal of these rivers, some of which are navigable some distance into the interior, are the Huasco, Lospontos, Maypu, Maule, Chillan, Ilata, Biobo Imperial, and Valdiva.

Surface, soil, climate, and productions.—The numerous ridges by which the surface of Chile is broken, present obstacles to the internal communication, but such as are no where insurmountable. The loose composition of those ridges is such, that roads may be formed along their sides with comparatively little labour; and when made, such is the temperate regularity of the seasons, that, with few repairs, they may be preserved for ages. But the wide desart, and the lofty Cordillera, by which Chile is enclosed and separated from the rest of the continent, presents a barrier, consisting of a dreary waste, and a range of mountains elevated in such ragged masses, and reared so far into the region of snow, that it is only passable for mules by some few narrow passes, and during particular seasons of the year. The desart of Atacama may be said to commence in Chile, almost immediately after crossing the Juncal, or dry river, as it is sometimes called; thence to the river Salado, the northern boundary of the state, is a distance of fifty miles; thence to the town of Atacama, in Upper Peru, is a distance of nearly three hundred miles, by the way of the coast, and the road passes wholly over a dry, sandy plain, where the traveller meets no living thing, either

of the vegetable or animal kingdom ; and losing sight of every other guide, his way is often only to be directed by the bleached bones of mules, which have perished in attempting to force a passage over that terrible waste. Instead of passing this dreary region, it is generally thought safer and better to climb the steep crags of the mountains, and take the road leading over the Andes, along their giddy precipices and narrow passes. Travellers and post-riders sometimes cross the desarts of Atacama, along the lower and more level road; but few or no traders or carriers ever venture to pass that way ; nor is it presumed any military leader would lightly be induced to encounter its difficulties for the purpose of carrying hostilities along that route into Chile. The desart of Atacama may, therefore, be considered as a great natural barrier, by which it is closed on that side against both commercial and hostile visiters.

From the Andes, the inclination is so great, that all the rivers flow with the rapidity of torrents, and are, therefore, not navigable. They serve to irrigate the vallies, and render them the most fertile in the world. The climate makes this method of cultivation absolutely necessary—for from the Salado to the Ilata, that is from 25° to 36° of south latitude, not a cloud is to be seen above the horizon from the month of November to the month of May. The atmosphere, during this period, is perfectly clear ; and the dews are scarcely perceptible, nor is the heat oppressive. The proximity of the Andes tempers the air, and the mercury fluctuates between 70 and 80 degrees of Fahrenheit, and rarely rises to 85 degrees.—Thunder storms, so frequent on the east of the Andes, are unknown in this part of Chile. Winter commences in the month of May; the cold is mild, and the rains gentle, and unattended with wind. The rains of the winter fertilize the hills, and the plains which cannot be irrigated during that season, afford pasture for the cattle. The spring commences in September, and the face of nature, in Chile, is then peculiarly beautiful. The hills are verdant and covered with innumerable flowering shrubs, and the plains present to the eye a carpet of flowers. The abundance of water, and the peculiarity of climate, enable the inhabitants to raise all the fruits of the earth in great perfection. The wheat which is cultivated in the valleys, is of excellent quality, and the produce seldom less than forty times the seed—sometimes ninety, and on the best land, even one hundred. Indian corn is likewise cultivated, and produces abundantly. Barley is raised in great quantities for the use of horses and mules, which, in the win-

ter, are fed on this grain, mixed with chopped straw, as in Arabia and old Spain; hemp and flax grow luxuriantly. Cotton is here and there cultivated for domestic manufactures, and there is one sugar plantation. The climate and soil is well adapted to the culture of sugar, but the inhabitants have been long accustomed to get that article from Peru, in exchange for their wheat, and are not disposed to change their ancient habits. Rice, likewise, would grow on the low lands, but it is brought from Peru.

South of the river Ilata, the climate varies; rains are frequent in the summer, and in the winter are attended by storms of wind. The grape is chiefly cultivated in these districts, and the wine is better than where the vineyards are irrigated; the olive grows luxuriantly throughout all Chile, and the oil is of the first quality. On the banks of the river Maule, and on all the rivers south of 35 degrees 17 minutes, there is excellent timber, and the whole country abounds with forests of a thorny minosa, which makes good charcoal, and is in general used for fuel. Mines of the precious metals abound in almost every part of Chile, and their annual produce, in prosperous times has been estimated at 3,000,000 of dollars. Besides the precious metals, the copper mines of Coquimbo actually produced, during the year ending the 1st of May, 1818, amidst the difficulties of the times, and shipped in foreign vessels, chiefly of the United States, forty-one thousand quintals.

The copper mines are principally situated near the coast, and are believed to be the most productive in the world. In addition to the copper, there has, also, been shipped from Chile, a considerable amount of tin. Of these two metals, the annual production may be estimated at about five hundred thousand dollars.

The mines of iron and quicksilver are very abundant; mines of lead are also numerous and rich, but almost entirely neglected; antimony and fossil salt are found in great quantities; salt springs abound; salammoniac and salt petre are also abundant.

The republic of Chile is divided into the following districts or provinces:—Copiapa, Guasco, Coquimbo, Cusco, Petorca, Quillota, Melipilla, Santa Rosa, Rancagua, Colchagua, Curico, Maule, Chillan, Isla de Maule, Canquenes, Ilata, Puchacay, Conception de Chile, Isla de la Laxa. The country occupied by the warlike tribes of Araucana, extends from the river Biobio, in latitude 26° 50′ to the 39th degree of latitude, and from the Andes to the Pacific. It is divided into four districts or provinces, by lines running from north to south. The

country between the river Totlen and the southern boundary of the republic, is called Huilli Maypro. There are eighty-two islands in the Archipelago of Chile, thirty-two of which are inhabited by Indians, or the descendants of Europeans. The largest is Chiloe, 180 miles in length from north to south, with a breadth of 60, at the widest place.

The city of Santiago is situated in the district of Melipilla, and was founded on the 17th of February, 1514, by Don Pedro de Valdivia, on the south bank of Maypu, in 33° 31′ south latitude. Santiago contains 40,000 inhabitants. The plain on which the city stands, extends along the foot of the Andes, certainly to the line; and it is believed quite to the isthmus of Panama, north and south to the straits of Magellan. This is the only uniform level in Chile; from hence to the coast the descent is rapid and broken by irregular mountains and vallies. On the eastern extremity of the city, rises the small rocky hill of Santa Lucia, formerly called the mountain of Gudon.—These insulated hills are frequently seen on the great plain of Chile. A broad road extends round the south side of the town like the boulevards of Paris, and separates it from the suburbs, which are extensive and well built. The river is broad and shallow, and in summer flows in several channels. There are in Santiago eleven convents, seven nunneries, four parochial churches, three hospitals, an university, and a mint.

The port of Valparaiso is situated in 33° 1′ 45″ south latitude in the district of Petorca. The town extends around the bay from the castle of Saint Antonio, for nearly a mile, and is separated from Almindral, a suburb of Valparaiso, by a low beach; the houses are irregularly scattered over the sides of steep hills, which rise abruptly from the shore, and extend along the ravines of Saint Augustine, Saint Francisco, and Gomez, the ground being very broken and rugged. The country near the town is very barren, and all the supplies are drawn from Quillotta. The population of Valparaiso, including the Almindral, does not exceed 6,500 souls.

Government and Population.—Since the liberation of Chile, in 1817, an independent republican government has been maintained the principal part of the time, under a chief magistrate, called a supreme director. A congress has been for some time in session, for the purpose of forming a permanent constitution, but the result of their labours is not yet known. The independence of this country has been acknowledged by the United States and Great Britain. The population of Chile, exclusive of the independent tribes of Indians, is estimated

at 1,200,000 inhabitants, most of which are north of the river Biobio.

Army, Navy, and Commerce.—In July, 1818, the regular army of Chile amounted to 8,400 men, exclusive of militia, which were 28,960; an army, respectable for its numbers and discipline, is still maintained, and is distinguished for its well known services in the liberation of Peru. A formidable navy was organized in 1818, and has ever since been efficiently employed in aiding the great cause of liberty and independence. The principal articles of export from Chile, consist of gold, silver, copper, tin, wheat, flour, hemp, cordage, hides, tallow, jerked beef, vicuna, guanaco, and chinchilla skins, and several kinds of dried fruits, figs, raisins, &c. The trade of Chile is chiefly carried on with the United States, England, and the neighbouring republics. Chile may be considered the granary of South America. The manners, customs, and religion of the people, are similar to the neighbouring republics.

HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTION IN CHILE.

CHAPTER XIV.

Establishment of a junta—disturbance at Santiago—Congress called—complaints as to the mode of election—measures of the congress—it is overthrown by the Carreras—their administration—Chile invaded from Peru—events of the war—revolution in the government—treaty concluded—dissentions among the patriots—success of the royalists—their authority re-established—expedition of San Martin—victory at Chacabaco—emancipation of the country—O'Higgins appointed director—expedition from Peru—defeat of the patriots—victory of Maypu—its effects—squadron under Lord Cochrane—expedition to Peru—war with the Araucanian Indians and Benevides—piracies of Benevides—resignation of O'Higgins—establishment of a new government—general Freyre chosen director—Chile affords further succour to Peru—its fleet blockades Callao—its exploits—expedition to Chiloe—state of the country—conclusion.

The first revolutionary movement in Chile, occurred in Santiago, where the inhabitants, in July, 1810, compelled the captain-general to resign, and count de la Conquista was appointed to succeed him, who favoured a revolution. He called together the most respectable land-holders, in September, 1810, to take into consideration the present condition of the country and of Spain. and to decide on the measures proper to be adopted. The result was the creation of a junta, of which the count de la Conquista was president. The junta determined on assembling a congress, and prescribed regulations for the choice of representatives. The election in Santiago took place on the 11th of April, 1811, and a detachment of troops, under Don J. Figueroa, was stationed in the square of the consulado to preserve order. This officer, although a Spaniard, had declared in favour of the revolution, and was in the employ of the junta; yet, nevertheless, he had formed a faction against it, and availed himself of his situation and of the

occasion, to attempt to crush the revolution. A skirmish ensued between the troops that adhered to Figueroa, and those who remained faithful to the junta, in which fifty or sixty men were killed. The result was favourable to the popular cause and the leading conspirators were seized and banished, except Figueroa, who was executed. After this, the royal audiencia was dissolved, and its powers vested in a new tribunal.

The election of deputies to the congress was made according to the regulation of the junta, which prescribed the number for each municipality, but not according to the population. There was consequently little equality in the representation of different towns, which occasioned complaints and remonstrances. The three brothers, of the name of Carrera, sons of a wealthy land-holder in Santiago, joined in the clamours, and put themselves at the head of the disaffected, of which the military of that city formed a part. The congress acknowledged the necessity of a reformation in the representation, which being made, tranquillity was restored, and the congress resumed its session. It passed a decree, declaring that all Spaniards who were dissatisfied with the new order of things, should leave the country within six months, in which period they might dispose of their property and remove with all their effects. The congress also enacted many salutary laws for the reformation of the abuses of the old system; the curates were to be paid from the public treasury, not by their parishioners; the children of slaves born in future were declared free, and the restrictions were removed from commerce; the ancient law by which government disposed of places in the municipalities, was abrogated, and it was provided that the members of the municipalities should be elected annually; many useless offices were abolished, and the salaries of others reduced. A manufactory of fire-arms, and a military school, called *artilleria practica*, were established, and the powers of the junta prescribed.

Notwithstanding these revolutionary measures, Abascal, the viceroy of Peru, remained on apparent terms of friendship with the new government.

Encouraged by the success of their first attempt, the Carreras formed a plan for effecting the revolution, and placing themselves at the head of that government. And their connection with the army, one being major in the grenadiers, and another captain in the artillery, facilitated the success of their enterprise. Having acquired an ascendancy over the troops, placing themselves at their head, on the 15th of November, 1811, they compelled congress to depose the junta, and appoint three new members, of whom J M. Carrera was one. This junta, the offspring of violence and usurpation, immedi-

ately attempted to render itself absolute; a new regiment of cavalry was formed, and J. M. Carrera placed at its head; and having strengthened themselves sufficiently, on the 2d of December they dissolved the congress. The junta now ruled without control, relying for its support entirely on the military, who were greatly devoted to the Carreras.

The administration of the Carreras occcasioned opposition and disaffection, which surrounded them with difficulties and dangers; one conspiracy against them was formed after another, four of which they succeeded in suppressing. At length, to increase their embarrassments, they quarrelled among themselves, and J. M. Carrera withdrew from the government; but a reconciliation having been effected, he resumed his former situation in October, 1812.

These dissentions and disorders in Chile, induced the viceroy of Lima to send an expedition against that country, under general Pareja, which early in the year 1813, attacked and took possession of the post of Talcahuano, without resistance. From this place he advanced to La Conception, where the garrison declared in his favour, which increased his force to 4,000 men. He marched towards the river Maule.

To oppose Pereja, J. M. Carrera, leaving his brother Juan Jose in his place in the government, marched at the head of 6,000 men, and approached the royal army. On the night of the 12th of April, 1813, he sent a detachment of troops to surprise and attack the enemy in their encampment. This attack was successful, but not without great loss to the patriots. It however induced Pareja to retire to Chillan, where he erected fortifications for his security; and the garrisons which he had left at Talcahuano and La Conception, were obliged to capitulate, but their commanders escaped to Peru.

To free themselves from the influence of the Carreras, the junta sent Juan Jose Carrera to the army, and filled his place, so that it now consisted of J. A. Perez, A. Eyzaguirre and M. Infante. They removed to the town of Talca, near the seat of war, the better to direct its operations and watch over the safety of the country. J. M. Carrera continued to command the army, and governed without restraint over the country where his troops were stationed; and his conduct and the devastations of his army so exasperated the people throughout the intendancy of La Conception, that they declared for the royalists. It was deemed necessary to remove from the command of the army a man who had rendered himself so obnoxious to the people. Carrera was accordingly displaced by the junta, and colonel O'Higgins appointed to succeed him, and colonel M'Kenna, second in command, on the 24th of November, 1813. Carrera refused to relinquish the com-

mand, but being abandoned by the army, he was compelled to yield, and on his way to Santiago, with his brother Luis, both were taken by a party of royalists and conducted to Chillan.

For nearly a year the Spanish forces remained at Chillan, and no important military operations took place. On the death of their commander, Pereja, general Gainza arrived from Lima, with re-enforcements, and took the command. On the 19th of March, 1814, Gainza attacked M'Kenna, with one division of the Chilean army, encamped at El Membrillal, twelve miles from Chillan, but was repulsed with loss: and the next day O'Higgins, who had come to the relief of M'Kenna, engaged the royal army with success, and it suffered severely. Not discouraged by these checks, Gainza resolved to march against Santiago, which was in a defenceless condition; and advancing rapidly, the royalists crossed the Maule, and O'Higgins pursuing them, encamped on the opposite side of the river. In the night, O'Higgins crossed the river with his army, without destroying his encampment, by which movement Gainza was completely deceived; being so surprised in the morning at seeing an army before him, and an encampment in his rear, which he supposed filled with troops, he abandoned his plan and retired to the town of Talca, which he had taken a few days before. O'Higgins opened a communication with Santiago, and cut off that of the enemy with Chillan.

The fall of Talca was attributed to the want of energy and courage in the junta, who left the town several days before the approach of the enemy, and took off a part of the garrison for their own security. This occasioned a revolution; the junta was deposed and the government entrusted to Don F. Lastra, governour of Valparaiso, who was styled supreme director. At this time, propositions for an accommodation were received from the viceroy of Lima, brought by captain Hillyar of the British Frigate Phoebe, which induced Lastra to call a meeting of the principal inhabitants of Santiago, which decided that the director should propose terms of capitulation to general Gainza. The result was a capitulation, on the 5th of May, whereby Gainza and his troops were to reembark for Lima, within two months, and to leave the places he then occupied in the same state of military defence as he had found them. It was also stipulated that the viceroy should acknowledge the government of Chile, and all the changes which had been made, and that Chile should send a certain number of deputies, to the cortes of Spain, as members of that body. Two colonels were delivered by each party, as hostages, and peace was restored for a season. The only ob-

ject of the Spanish chiefs, however, seems to have been to gain time and save their army, as Gainza, under various pretences refused to fulfil the articles of the treaty, and by this base expedient preserved his army until general Osorio arrived with re-enforcements from Lima.

The two Carreras having made their escape from Chillan, exerted all their influence to arouse their adherents, and form a party subservient to their ambition; and by the assistance of their partizans, and by bribing the troops at Santiago, they deposed Lastra on the 23d of August, 1814, and re-established the junta. J. M. Carrera, M. M. Ursua, and J. Urive, were the members. This revolution, effected by force and corruption, excited much indignation with the inhabitants of Santiago, not so much on account of attachment to Lastra, as from hostility to the Carreras, and disapprobation of the means by which they had again placed themselves at the head of affairs. At the desire of the inhabitants, O'Higgins marched with his troops towards the capital. Some skirmishing took place between the troops of O'Higgins, and those of Carrera, and when a decisive action was on the eve of being fought, and brethren engaged in the same cause, were about to shed each other's blood, a deputy arrived from the Spanish general, Osorio, with intelligence, that Abascal, the viceroy of Lima, disapproved of the capitulation. This put an end to the civil war, and the imminent danger of the country induced O'Higgins to submit to the authority of the junta. Carrera, under pretence of newly organizing the army, dismissed such of the officers as he considered unfriendly to himself, many of whom happened to be the best officers in the service. This occasioned discontent among the troops, which was followed by alarming desertions. Leaving O'Higgins at the head of the army, Carrera returned to Santiago. The Spanish general Osorio, who had succeeded Gainza, advanced as far as Cachapual, at the head of 4,000 men, and O'Higgins, being unable to oppose him, threw himself into Rancagua, seventy miles from Santiago. Siege was immediately laid to the town, and an attack made on it, which lasted thirty-six hours. During the action, Carrera approached the town with re-enforcements, which induced Osorio, to recross the river Cachapual, leaving two hundred men to cover his retreat. But Carrera, instead of entering the town, fell back on Santiago, when Osorio returned to the attack. Seeing no prospect of relief, and having lost two thirds of his men, O'Higgins resolved to evacuate the place, which he could only effect by opening a way through the lines of the enemy. He was retiring towards the capital, but on

learning that the Carreras were making no preparations for its defence, and only appeared to think of escaping, he changed his plan, and retreated in a different direction. Notwithstanding the Carreras had fifteen hundred troops under their command, they made no attempt to oppose the royalists, or defend the capital, and their soldiers committed such depredations on the inhabitants, that, becoming exasperated, they sent deputies to Osorio, inviting him to enter the capital, to re-establish order, and afford them protection. Great consternation now prevailed throughout Chile, and more than two thousand of its inhabitants fled to Mendoza, in the province of Cuyo, one of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, bordering on Chile. J. M. Carrera also retired to that place with six hundred troops. There being no army to oppose Osorio, he entered Santiago, and took possession of Valparaiso, and all the principal towns, without opposition, and at the end of October, 1814, the Spanish authority was completely re-established throughout Chile. Here, as well as in other parts of Spanish America, the inhabitants became the victims of royal vengeance; arrests, imprisonments, punishments, and banishments followed, and filled the country with terror, suffering and horror. More than one hundred patriots were exiled to the desert island of Juan Fernandez, three hundred and eighty miles from the coast.

For more than two years, the royalists maintained their power in Chile, and governed with the greatest rigour, which produced general discontent among the people, who, however, had no means of throwing off the yoke.—At length, like the Israelites of old, they found a deliverer, who was raised up to rescue them from the hand of the oppressor, and liberate them from bondage. General San Martin, governour of the neighbouring province of Cuyo, conceived the noble design of emancipating Chile, and having spent a year in levying and disciplining troops for the purpose, his army commenced its march in January, 1817; and by the most incredible exertions and perseverance, crossed the lofty and rugged Andes, over frozen summits, along precipitous ledges, and through narrow and dangerous defiles, many of which were fortified by the enemy. These appalling difficulties, however, were overcome, but not without the loss of some men, and several thousand mules and horses. The army consisted of two divisions, one commanded by Don E. Soler, and the other by O'Higgins, and occupied Aconcagua, Santarosa, and other places along the road which the royalists had abandoned, and concentrated their forces at Chacabaco, a position of difficult access, and which overlooks the plain of Santarosa, through which the on-

ly road to Santiago passes, which is distant only forty miles. Notwithstanding the strong position occupied by the enemy, San Martin did not hesitate to attack them, without waiting for the arrival of part of his troops, and his artillery. The attack was made on the morning of the 12th of February, in the most spirited manner, and the enemy was dislodged from their position, with six hundred men killed, and about the same number made prisoners. The remainder of the royalists fled, and took refuge in the fortress of Talcahuano. Their commander, and the captain general of Chile, Marco, was afterwards taken near Valparaiso. This victory terminated the campaign, and emancipated the country. San Martin proceeded to Santiago, where a meeting of the principal inhabitants was convened, which elected him supreme director of Chile, which he declined, and the office was conferred on O'Higgins. All of Chile was again under the government of the patriots, except a few fortresses occupied by the Spaniards. San Martin returned to Buenos Ayres, to concert measures for an expedition into Peru, for the liberation of that country, leaving O'Higgins to reduce the places which still held out. Before this was effected, the viceroy of Lima succeeded in throwing fifteen hundred men into the fortress of Talcahuano, which, in point of strength, will compare with Gibraltar.

Great exertions were now made, to fit out a formidable expedition against Peru, both by Buenos Ayres and Chile. The new levies made in Chile, increased the liberating army to nearly double its number; but time was required to discipline these raw troops. The want of transports was the principal cause which delayed the expedition.—Aware of these preparations, and alarmed at the consequences of a victorious army in Peru, knowing the disposition of the people to revolt, the viceroy resolved to decide the fate of Peru in Chile, and by very great exertions, collected and embarked 5,000 men, commanded by Osorio, which landed at Talcahuano. They immediately marched for the capital, intending to overtake and engage O'Higgins before he could unite with San Martin. Being re-enforced by the garrison, and the inhabitants, Osorio had nearly 8,000 men, with which he advanced rapidly through the country; but before he passed the Maule, the different divisions of the patriot forces had formed a junction, and San Martin appealing to the capital, its inhabitants in the most patriotic manner, voluntarily stripped themselves of plate, and all utensils of silver, to supply the wants of the army. The moment the troops were in a condition to take the field, San Martin marched to meet the enemy, and coming up

with them, a skirmishing commenced, and was kept up for several days. On the 19th of March, 1818, a more serious affair took place. O'Higgins, with the advance of the army having attacked a part of the Spanish force, drove them back with precipitation, and pursued them into the streets of Talca This forced back the whole of the Spanish army, and discovered to Osorio, that he had estimated too lightly the prowess of the patriot army and its general. He apprehended that San Martin would attack him in the morning, with all his force, and dreading the consequences, he resolved to select two thousand of his best troops, and try to seal a victory, by a night attack. Accordingly, about nine o'clock in the evening, when the right wing of the liberating army had taken its position for the night, and the left was in motion, the enemy rushed upon them in the most furious manner. The surprise and impetuosity of the attack threw the artillery into confusion, which communicated to the troops on their march, who, after a slight resistance, broke and dispersed, and all the efforts of their officers to rally them, were ineffectual. The right of the army continued the contest for some time, and retired in good order. One half of the army was dispersed, and nearly all its baggage and artillery were lost. With what remained, San Martin retired to the defile of Angulemu, on the route to Santiago, where he left the remains of his troops, and proceeded with the director to the capital, to arouse the inhabitants, and procure means for increasing and re-organizing his army. Animating proclamations were circulated through the country, by San Martin and the director, and by the most incredible exertions, the army, after marching two hundred and forty miles, in a few days presented a formidable front on the plains of Maypu.

Following up his advantage, Osorio marched with great celerity, and in twelve days reached the banks of the Maypu. After some skirmishing on the third and fourth of April, on the fifth, the royalists crossed the river, and the two armies came in sight of each other. Considerable manœuvering took place, each commander endeavouring to get the advantage of his opponent. San Martin continued riding along the lines, and addressed each separate corps, infusing his own animation, confidence and spirit, into them; whilst patriotic songs resounded through the army, by which means the enthusiasm of the troops was raised to the highest pitch. San Martin expected that Osorio would attack him, but perceiving that the enemy did not intend to make an attack that day, and seeing the ardour with which his army was inspired, he gave orders to prepare for action. The right, composed of

infantry, was commanded by general Balcarce, and colonel Las Heras, and the infantry on the left was under colonel Alvarado; a part of the artillery and cavalry was posted on each wing, and there was a strong reserve in the rear, under colonel Quintana. The army thus formed, advanced towards the enemy, who received them with a tremendous fire from his infantry and his artillery, posted on a small eminence. This did not stop the progress of the patriot army; the enemy's cavalry made a charge upon them, who were met and driven back under their guns, by the cavalry of the patriots. The action now became general along the whole line, and soon the fire was tremendous and destructive. Each party displayed equal obstinacy; at length the line of the Independents began to vascillate, when the reserve was ordered up, and the whole returned to the charge with an impetus irresistible and overwhelming. So obstinate, however, was the resistance of the enemy, that they were literally pushed from the ground with the bayonets; and the regiment of Burgos, twelve hundred strong, and the best troops of Spain, was not broken until repeated charges were made on it, led by San Martin in person. The contest was long and obstinate, continuing from noon until six in the evening; never was a field more sharply contested, or a victory more decisive and complete. The entire Spanish army was destroyed; its chief, with a few horsemen, alone escaped, when they saw that the day was lost. The whole of the enemy's baggage, military chests, artillery, and every thing belonging to the army, fell into the hands of the victors. Two thousand of the enemy covered the field of battle, and two hundred officers, and three thousand rank and file were made prisoners. The patriots lost one thousand killed and wounded.

The capital, which since the defeat of the army, had been covered with gloom, was now filled with joy and rejoicing; the sublime effusions of popular and patriotic feeling, which were exhibited, cannot be described, nor even conceived by those who have never witnessed a similar scene. The people in transports of joy universally exclaimed, "*at last the plains of Maypu have sealed our Independence*," while San Martin was hailed as the saviour of the country, and the master-spirit of the revolution.

Great exertions were now renewed to prepare an expedition to Peru; to collect a well disciplined army, and a sufficient naval force and transports, for the expedition. The latter was attended with the most difficulty, and was the principal cause of delay. Lord Cochrane, arrived in Chile. in November, 1818, and was immediately appointed commander in

chief of the Chilean squadron. By great exertions, the fleet was rendered so efficient, under the wonderful genius of Lord Cochrane, that it drove the Spanish from the Pacific, and in September, 1818, attacked their shipping and batteries at Callao. Lord Cochrane proceeded from thence to Guayaquil, where he captured a number of valuable Spanish ships laden with timber; and from hence he sailed to Talcahuano, on the frontier of Chile, where he took on board a detachment of troops, and proceeded for Valdivia, a town in the south, in the possession of the Spaniards, and strongly fortified. This town and district he captured on the 2d of February, 1820, by a bold and skilful combination of operations. The squadron returned to Valparaiso, where on the 18th of August, 1820, the troops were embarked and the expedition sailed for the liberation of Peru. An account of its proceedings and success, has been given in the history of the revolution in Peru.

For three years, the southern frontier of Chile, was devastated by the hostilities of the Araucanian Indians, headed by Benavides, an outlaw and pirate. Benavides was a native of Quirihue, in the province of Conception, and served as a private in the patriot army, during the first revolution. He became a sergeant of grenadiers; and finally deserted to the Spaniards, at Membrilla, and subsequently, at the action at that place, was made a prisoner; but when conducting him to the court martial to be tried, he made his escape, and continued in the service of the Spaniards until again taken prisoner, on the plains of Maypu. He was condemned to be shot, as a deserter, and was supposed to have been killed; but being only dreadfully wounded, he feigned to be dead, and was carried off, and left with the dead bodies of others, shot at the same time, and in the night crawled off to a cottage, where being taken care of, he recovered. Afterwards he offered his services, to San Martin, to dissuade the Indians on the southern bank of Biobio, from the predatory war in which the Spaniards wished to engage them. His services were accepted, and he was furnished with a commission and documents. But instead of attempting to persuade the Indians to remain peaceable, he went to Nicimiento, and offered to Sanchez, the Spanish commander in that quarter, to prosecute the war on the southern frontier of Chile, if he would confer on him the command. Sanchez accordingly retired to Valdivia, and left Benavides as commander in chief, on the whole of the southern frontier. This savage now commenced a war of desolation and blood, which perhaps has never been surpassed. He laid waste every thing before him, with fire and sword; he put all his prisoners to death, cut the throat of an officer bearing a

flag of truce; he compelled the peasants to follow him on pain of death, and even women and children were often murdered to prevent their giving information of the route he had pursued, or the mountain in which his party had secreted themselves. His orders to the leaders of his guerrillas were written in blood, and executed with an exactness which shew the terror with which he had inspired the vile instruments of his cruelties and murders.

The armies of the republic were employed in Peru; but the governour of the province of Conception, defended the frontier as well as he could, against so ferocious an enemy. On the 26th of September, 1820, he was attacked on the river Laja, by three hundred regulars, and some militia under general Alcazar, and was very hard pressed. At night Benavides sent a messenger, offering to spare the lives of all who would surrender themselves up unarmed. His men being overcome with fatigue, and his ammunition nearly exhausted, Alcazar was obliged to accept these terms and capitulated. His officers were all immediately shot, and himself delivered over to the Indians.

At length this monster was defeated on the 27th of November, 1820; but still continued formidable. The success of his predatory incursions, and the authority he had acquired over the Araucanians, led him to fancy himself a powerful monarch, and to increase his power for war, he attempted to establish a navy. The town of Arauco, the capital of the country of the Araucanian Indians, is directly opposite the island of St. Maria, where ships which have doubled Cape Horn, stop for refreshments, which gave him opportunities for surprising and capturing vessels. The first he captured was the ship Hero, from the United States. and the second, the American brig Herselia, which anchored in a small bay of the island of St. Maria, opposite to Arauco. The captain and crew of the Herselia were made prisoners, pillaged of every thing they had, and compelled to engage in the service of Benavides. He despatched one of his vessels to the island of Chiloe, and obtained from the Spanish authorities, nine pieces of cannon, a quantity of ammunition, eleven Spanish officers, and twenty soldiers. The royal chiefs did not hesitate to employ such a savage monster, in making war on the patriots. After this, Benavides captured the English whale ship Perseverance, and the American brig Ocean, having on board several thousand stands of arms. He put the captain of the Perseverance to death, for attempting to escape, and a seamen who deserted, he cut in pieces, and exhibited the mangled body, as a warning to others. He compelled the crews of these vessels to serve with his troops.

In the month of October, 1821, a Chilean expedition proceeded against Arauco, and their troops having defeated the Araucanians, commanded by one of Benavides' officers, the Indians set fire to the town and shipping, and fled to the woods leaving every thing to be consumed which they could not carry off. The affairs of Benavides had now become desperate; and in December he offered to surrender himself and all his partizans, to the Intendant of Conception; but soon after he embarked in a launch, and attempted to escape to one of the southern ports of Peru, but having sent a soldier to swim ashore, to look for water, the soldier betrayed him and he was arrested on the beach. He was tried, condemned, and executed, on the 23d of February, 1822.

No important events occurred in Chile, during the year 1822, as their army and navy were employed in Peru; the Spanish authority was entirely overthrown in Chile; the war with the Araucanian Indians was at an end, and the Chilean squadron was triumphant on the ocean. On the 18th of November, the town of Valparaiso was visited by one of those dreadful convulsions of nature, to which this region is exposed. A considerable portion of the town was laid in ruins by a tremendous earthquake; few houses were left standing, which were tenantable; more than three hundred bodies were found among the ruins. In January, 1823, Lord Cochrane retired from the command of the Chilean navy, and on the 10th of the month, addressed a letter to the officers belonging thereto, in which he says, that by their united exertions, the naval power of the enemy in those seas had been annihilated, and that the commerce of the Pacific, was every where carried on under the protection of the Independent flag.

O'Higgins had hitherto continued at the head of the government, as supreme director, but had become unpopular, and an opposition to his administration extensively prevailed. Among other things, the director was charged with having engaged in disgraceful speculations. General Freyre, who was at the head of the principal part of the military force, was among the opponents of the director, and every thing threatened a revolution in the government. O'Higgins was sensible of the gathering storm, which impended over him, and to avoid its effects, or abate its violence, on the 28th of January, 1823, he called together the officers of the government and authorities of the capital, to deliberate on the state of affairs, and determine on the means of preserving the public tranquillity. The result was, that the next day the director issued a decree, containing the obdication of his authority, and resigning it to a junta to be exercised provisionally, until the national representatives could be assembled. The junta were

Eyzaguirre, Infante, and Errazuris. This decree was read to the people, and O'Higgins himself proclaimed the election of the new government. He united the ribbon, the badge of his office, and put into the hands of the junta, who then took the oath of their new office. The new government appointed D. A. Vial, minister of finance and war, and D. M. Egana, minister of state and marine. But, notwithstanding the resignation of the director, general Freyre, who arrived at Valparaiso, not long after at the head of a considerable army ordered him arrested, and imprisoned. A revolution in the government took place; the administrative junta decreed by O'Higgins was overthrown, and a provisional government established; general Freyre was appointed director. The last of March, 1823, a statute was published, providing for the assembling of a supreme congress, to frame a constitution, and until one was formed and adopted, the constitution of 1818, except such provisions as were abrogated or altered by this act, was to form the basis of the government. The act provided, that the provisional government within thirty days from its establishment, should issue warrants for the election of representatives to congress, which should meet within two months thereafter; it also fixed the basis of population of the districts, and the ratio of representation, which was one deputy to 15,000 inhabitants.

The expedition under San Martin, against Peru, was completely successful; the country was liberated from the authority of Spain, and a government established, and San Martin returned to Chile, in October, 1822. But almost immediately after he left Peru, the new government was involved in dissentions, which threatened the destruction of all the fruits of the glorious expedition, from Chile, directed by the illustrious San Martin. In June following, the Spanish general, Canterac, re-entered Lima, and the patriots took refuge in Callao, the revolution in Peru, being thus speedily terminated, and the royal authority re-established. These disastrous events in Peru, induced the liberator, Bolivar, who had recently brought the war to a conclusion in the southern provinces of Colombia, to resolve on proceeding to Peru with a considerable force. The government of Chile, offered again to send an auxiliary force, for the prosecution of the war in Peru. Accordingly, their navy, with some troops, were placed under the command of Bolivar. After the annihilation of the royal army, and the emancipation of Peru, in 1824, a part of the Chilean fleet was generously placed at the disposal of the Peruvian government, for the investment of Callao, which place the royalists still possess.

Notwithstanding all the disorders and civil wars, which have

prevailed in Chile, it is entitled to the honour, not only of maintaining its own independence, but of having fitted out two expeditions, and afforded important assistance for the emancipation of Peru, and for the support of the revolution in that country. For the last two years, intelligence from Chile, has been scanty and obscure; some progress seems to have been made, in maturing a system of government, and in consolidating the republic. The new government has adopted some salutary laws, and among others, an act, in June, 1823, for the entire abolition of slavery. It declares all persons born in the territories of the republic, all who tread the soil of Chile, and all who have been slaves, to be free from the passing of the act, and entitled to the rights of citizens.

The Spanish power is annihilated in Chile, and no important military events have taken place since the overthrow of O'Higgins' administration. Freyre, the director, fitted out an expedition against the island of Chiloe, the only place in the possession of the royalists in 1824, which was unsuccessful. The naval force of Chile has been principally employed in the siege of Callao, and has performed some heroic exploits; fifty men in boats entered the harbour, and burnt and destroyed six vessels, including the Spanish frigate Venganza; and at another time one hundred and twenty-five men, in boats, attacked five of the enemy's vessels in the harbour, one of twenty guns, and captured and carried off three of them, and burnt the other two. The Chilean squadron still continues the blockade of Callao.

Chile maintains friendly relations with the other independent nations in the south, and its independence has been recognised by the United States, who have a minister, Mr. Allen, resident there, and that republic appointed, last year, an envoy to Washington. General Freyre is still at the head of the government, in which no revolution has taken place since the spring of 1823; although the last accounts from Chile, represent the country as untranquilised, and discontents as still prevailing among the people; but in the present condition of the Spanish monarchy, no internal disorders, however much they may retard the prosperity of the country, can endanger its independence, or occasion the least apprehension of its ever again falling under the sceptre of a foreign power, which, for three centuries, has spread the dark shades of a gloomy and bigoted despotism over the fairest and richest portions of the globe. Happily for the new world; happily for the cause of freedom, that despotism is overthrown in America, and as if recoiling on itself, it now seems about to expire at home in the agonies of its own infliction.

THE END.

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